

# Open Research Online

---

The Open University's repository of research publications and other research outputs

## Amateur brass and wind bands in Southern England between the late eighteenth century and circa 1900

### Thesis

#### How to cite:

Lomas, Michael John (1990). Amateur brass and wind bands in Southern England between the late eighteenth century and circa 1900. PhD thesis The Open University.

For guidance on citations see [FAQs](#).

© 1990 The Author



<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

Version: Version of Record

Link(s) to article on publisher's website:

<http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21954/ou.ro.0000dfdf>

---

Copyright and Moral Rights for the articles on this site are retained by the individual authors and/or other copyright owners. For more information on Open Research Online's data [policy](#) on reuse of materials please consult the policies page.

---

[oro.open.ac.uk](http://oro.open.ac.uk)

DX92093  
UNRESTRICTED

AMATEUR BRASS AND WIND BANDS IN SOUTHERN ENGLAND  
BETWEEN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND CIRCA 1900

Thesis presented to the Open University in candidature  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Michael John Lomas, B.A., P.G.C.E.

Faculty of Arts

April 1990

Author's number : M7023944

Date of submission : 9th April 1990

Date of award : 24th September 1990

**ALL MISSING PAGES ARE BLANK**

**IN**

**ORIGINAL**

**BEST COPY**

**AVAILABLE**

Variable print quality



## CONTENTS

page

### VOLUME I

Title page

Contents

List of musical examples and tables

Abstract

Acknowledgements

General notes on presentation

Introduction

1

### Part I: Early bands from the late eighteenth century up to the late 1830s

Chapter 1: Militia and volunteer bands	35
i) Introduction	37
ii) Funding	41
iii) Personnel	55
iv) Organisation	73
v) Instruments	77
vi) Repertoire	97

Chapter 2: Church bands	119
i) Introduction	121
ii) Funding	123
iii) Personnel	145
iv) Organisation	161
v) Instruments	163
vi) Repertoire	175
vii) Reform	199
 Chapter 3: Secular civilian wind bands	 219
i) Introduction	221
ii) Funding	221
iii) Personnel	241
iv) Organisation	247
v) Instruments	257
vi) Repertoire	275
 <u>Part II: Bands in the Victorian period</u>	
 Chapter 4: Social and musical comment on bands in Victorian Britain	 291
i) Introduction	293
ii) 'Rational Recreation'	293
iii) Status	309
iv) Bands and Religion	347

Chapter 5: Bands in the mid-nineteenth century	365
i) Introduction	367
ii) The backgrounds of bandsmen and their supporters	369
iii) 'Respectable young men'? The motivation of bandsmen	379
iv) The availability of chromatic brass instruments	429
v) The promotion of band instruments	455
vi) 'Enlivening the scene': The middle class and bands	465
Chapter 6: Volunteer bands in the late nineteenth century	477
i) Introduction	479
ii) Funding	481
iii) The volunteers and the development of banding	513
iv) Regional variations	527
v) 'A question of prudence': bands and the motivation of the volunteer force	533
vi) Bands associated with other auxiliary units	565

Chapter 7: Banding in southern England, c.1860-c.1900	577
i) Introduction	579
ii) The middle class	583
iii) The working class	617
iv) Commercialisation	677
v) "'Nationalising" the movement': band contesting in southern England	719
Summary, conclusions and suggestions for further research	769
i) Summary	771
ii) Conclusions	787
iii) Suggestions for further research	803
Bibliography	809

## VOLUME II

## Appendices

## LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES AND TABLES

### Musical Examples

- 1.1 James Oswald's The Surry March [1759]
- 1.2 Opening of Timothy Essex's The Grand March of the Hampstead Loyal Association [1799]
- 1.3 First repeated strain of William Abington's The Royal East India Quick March... [1796]
- 1.4 Start of triple time section of George Guest's A New Troop... [1805]
- 2.1 Introduction to The Magnificat (Catsfield MS)
- 2.2 Instrumental interlude between verses of Psalm 61 N.V. (Catsfield MS)
- 2.3 Opening of Nunc Dimittis (Catsfield MS)
- 3.1 First repeated section, Andrew Mack (Aylmore MS)
- 5.1 Opening bars of piece No. 17 of The Amateurs' Brass Band Quartetts [1852]
- 5.2 Opening bars of No. 5 (Duet from "Elisire d'Amore") from Book 12 of Wessel & Co's Journal for Brass Band [1845]
- 7.1 Ord Hume's The B.B. and C.F. [c.1900], solo cornet part
- 7.2 Coda of cornet solo part of J. Hartmann's Arbucklenian-Polka
- 7.3 Beginning of Larghetto from Henry Round's Joan of Arc [1884]

## Tables

- 1.1 Occupations of Bristol volunteer bandsmen, 1797
- 1.2 Occupations of Frampton-on-Severn bandsmen, 1798
- 1.3 Instrumental forces of volunteer and militia bands,  
1770-1804
- 2.1 Composition of sample church bands, 1748-c.1860
- 3.1 Instruments used by five civilian secular wind bands  
in southern England, 1807-late 1830s
- 6.1 Grouped frequency distribution showing the levels of  
average annual band expenditure of volunteer units in  
southern England for the five years from 1873 to 1877  
inclusive
- 6.2 Grouped frequency distribution showing the levels of  
average annual band expenditure of volunteer units in  
southern England for the five years from 1881 to 1885  
inclusive
- 6.3 Grouped frequency distribution showing the levels of  
average annual band expenditure of volunteer units in  
the north and midlands for the 5 years from 1873 to  
1877 inclusive
- 6.4 Grouped frequency distribution showing the various  
proportions of total average annual expenditure  
devoted to band spending by volunteer corps in  
southern England, from 1873 to 1877 inclusive

6.5 Grouped frequency distribution showing the various proportions of total average annual expenditure devoted to band spending by volunteer corps in southern England, for the period from 1881 to 1885 inclusive

7.1 Instrumental combinations used by Devon bands competing in contest at Exeter, 1861

7.2 Instrumental combinations used by southern bands, c.1875-c.1907



HIGHER DEGREES OFFICE  
LIBRARY AUTHORISATION FORM

STUDENT: MICHAEL JOHN LOMAS SERIAL NO: M 702 3944

DEGREE: Ph. D.

TITLE OF THESIS: AMATEUR BRASS AND WIND BANDS IN  
SOUTHERN ENGLAND BETWEEN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH  
CENTURY AND CIRCA 1900

I confirm that I am willing that my thesis be made available to readers and maybe photocopied, subject to the discretion of the Librarian.

SIGNED:  (M. J. LOMAS) DATE: 22 Jan. 1990



## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines and offers explanations for the development of largely working-class amateur brass and wind bands in southern England in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.

It begins by describing the beginnings of widespread amateur banding and considers the contribution made to the later development of bands by militia and volunteer bands, church bands and civilian secular bands in the period from the late eighteenth century up to about Queen Victoria's accession. The second part of this study attempts to explain the expansion of banding in the Victorian period, paying particular attention to the importance of middle-class ideologies in motivating working-class men.

It is suggested that the financial support provided for bands in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries - particularly by the wealthier members of society - facilitated the development of musical skills and traditions amongst the working class. Early bands made band music familiar and popular to the population. They helped develop a tradition of organised, disciplined music-making and also encouraged the beginnings of commercial activity associated with banding.

There was a variety of reasons for the expansion of banding in Victoria's reign. Bands were supported by

some of the wealthier classes; there were improvements in the time and money available to working-class people for recreation; chromatic brass instruments were introduced; after 1859, the volunteer force gave considerable support to bands. The development of banding was also assisted by the increasing promotion, availability and cheapness of instruments and music. It is argued that middle-class ideologies probably had a small influence over the working-class men associated in various ways with bands. Furthermore, the increasing integration of southern banding into the brass band movement's contesting activities and the growing importance of commercialism may have made bandsmen less amenable to middle-class prescriptions in some respects.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A great number of people have helped me in my research. I am obliged to the following for allowing me to reproduce material from their collections: the county archivists of Devon, Essex, Gloucestershire, Hertfordshire and Wiltshire; the librarian of Sussex Archaeological Society; Mr. D. Smith of Witney and Mr. T.A. Waddell of Farnham.

Numerous librarians, archivists, curators, secretaries and others have been of great assistance. I have acknowledged my debt to a few of these in the text; however, I am particularly grateful to the staff of the Open University Library at Walton Hall, who have been extremely efficient in dealing with my many requests for books and articles on inter-library loan. Also, I am obliged to Wright and Round of Gloucester for their kindness in allowing me access to their copies of the Brass Band News.

This research was conducted at the Open University in Wales. I would like to express my thanks to the Welsh

Director and his staff for their encouragement and hospitality. I am particularly indebted to Mrs. Julia Williams, Arts faculty secretary, who has helped me in a variety of ways.

My supervisor, Dr. Trevor Herbert, has provided me with much encouragement and painstaking criticism; I hope

that this thesis reflects the high standard of supervision I have received.

My wife Michèle has assisted me in various ways, providing me with a great deal of patient support without which this study would never have been written.

Finally, I would like to record my gratitude to Peter Robson and the late Ernie Camsey for introducing me to the world of brass bands twenty years ago. I hope that this thesis stands as a fitting memorial to the diligence and enthusiasm of their teaching.

(1) Sidenotes added after the final pagination are indicated by an asterisk.

## GENERAL NOTES ON PRESENTATION

### Pagination

All sides throughout the thesis have been given page numbers. Right-hand sides contain text or illustrations. Left-hand sides only contain sidenotes, which relate to the facing page; where a left-hand page contains no sidenotes, it has been given a page number and is otherwise blank. (1)

### Bibliographical details

Apart from newspapers and other serial publications (where full details are given in the sidenotes), the material cited has been keyed to the bibliography by a short title. In the case of books, articles and printed music, the short title usually consists of the name of the author and the year of publication of the edition or reprint used. The short title given for manuscript sources consists of an abbreviation of the name of the archive office, library or other repository which holds the manuscript, followed by a shelf number for the document.

The bibliography is in a single alphabetical sequence, containing both manuscript and printed sources. For manuscript sources, the first entry for a repository gives in full the abbreviated title of the holding institution used in the sidenotes. In most cases, the



reference numbers cited for manuscripts are those of the repository concerned. However, some collections were uncatalogued at the time this thesis was being prepared; where necessary, I have used square brackets in order to locate manuscripts as precisely as possible.

## INTRODUCTION



(1) Laurence 1981, vol. II, p108.

(2) Howkins 1973, p30.

## INTRODUCTION

The music critic, George Bernard Shaw, wrote the following in an article published in July 1890:

When I was in Bristol some time ago, a fifteen minutes' walk through the working-class quarter on Sunday morning brought me across three bands, two of them by no means bad ones. In London you can, on the occasion of a big "demonstration", pass down a procession miles long without ever being out of earshot of at least two bands. (1)

Alun Howkins found 148 named village bands in Jackson's Oxford Journal's reports of Whitsun festivities in Oxfordshire between 1840 and 1914. (2) These are just two of many pieces of evidence which suggest that playing in amateur brass and wind bands was an important leisure activity for working men in southern England by the end of the nineteenth century - as it was elsewhere.

Despite the ubiquity of bands, most aspects of the history of banding were neglected by scholars - particularly musicologists - until comparatively recently. For instance, Percy Young's weighty A History of British Music (1967) includes less than two pages on wind

(3) See Young 1967, pp488-9.

(4) See Galpin 1893 and 1906. See also BL Add. 47775 A&B and MacDermott 1923.

(5) See, for instance, Farmer [1912].

(6) See Herbert 1988 and 1990. See also Herbert and Myers 1988. At the time of writing, Dr. Herbert is preparing a book on bands in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, entitled Bands: The Brass Band Movement in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. I am grateful to him for allowing me to see part of this in typescript.

bands. (3) There were only a few exceptions to this. Some time ago, the antiquarians F.W. Galpin and later K.H. MacDermott carried out research into church bands in Dorset and Sussex respectively, which has been extremely useful in compiling this thesis. (4) In the first half of this century, H.G. Farmer published a number of books and papers on the history of military bands, all of which are valuable to the student of amateur banding. (5) Also, Russell and Elliot's pioneering book, The Brass Band Movement (1936), remains an influential starting-point for those researching band history.

Most of the few studies of bands have appeared only in the last twenty years. Many of these - such as Jack Scott's Sheffield University Ph.D. thesis, The Evolution of the Brass Band and its Repertoire in Northern England (1970); Dave Russell's York University D. Phil. thesis, The Popular Musical Societies of the Yorkshire Textile District, 1850-1914: A Study of the Relationship Between Music and Society (1980); Russell's essay on popular music and popular politics in West Yorkshire (1983) and Trevor Herbert's recent articles on the Cyfarthfa band of Merthyr Tydfil (6) - have focused upon provincial banding.

Other general histories of banding, such as Arthur Taylor's Brass Bands (1979), Cyril Bainbridge's Brass Triumphant (1980), Christopher Weir's Village and Town Bands (1981) and Alf Hailstone's The British Bandsman Centenary Book (1987) - concentrate mainly on the north of

(7) See esp. Gammon 1978 and 1981.

(8) Gammon 1986, pp104-133.

(9) Russell 1937, pp162-193.

(10) James 1986.



England.

There has still been very little research on bands in southern England. Nicholas Temperley's valuable The Music of the English Parish Church (1979) included a number of references to southern church bands. Also, the writings of Vic Gammon have added to knowledge of church bands in Sussex. (7) There are a few references to early wind bands in southern England in Edward Croft-Murray's paper, 'The Wind-Band in England, 1540-1840' (published in 1980). Gammon's University of Sussex Ph.D. thesis, Popular Music in Rural Society: Sussex 1815-1914 (1986) included a chapter on bands of various kinds in nineteenth-century Sussex. (8) Dave Russell's Popular music in England, 1840-1914 A social history (1987) included a chapter on brass bands, which, although largely based on his researches in northern England, contained some useful reflections on southern banding. (9) There have also been a few histories of individual bands, such as Len Parsons's History of Wellington Silver Band (1987) and Jackie James's short account of the history of Highworth Silver band. (10)

Therefore, one objective of this thesis is to fill the hiatus which has been left for one reason or another by previous researchers; I aim to provide a history of southern bands, focusing particularly upon the reasons for the expansion of amateur banding which took place in the south in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.

(11) Taylor 1979, pp7-21.

(12) See Cunningham 1975 and Beckett 1932, which are both detailed general studies of the force. Cunningham at least recognises that the foundation of the volunteer movement coincided with the period which saw the rapid expansion of banding and that the force's bands assisted this growth by helping to popularise band music. (See Cunningham 1975, p71.) Taylor deals with the subject in about one page (See Taylor op. cit., p50). Russell and Elliot recognised that the Force was important, particularly in Scotland, but they did not analyse its impact in any detail. (See Russell and Elliot 1936, pp157-9.)

In considering the various factors involved in the development of banding, I have attempted to deal with two aspects of band history which have received particularly scant attention from researchers. Little is known about bands in Britain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, particularly secular amateur wind bands before about the 1830s; Taylor discusses early bands in his book Brass Bands in a chapter aptly entitled 'Pre-history'. (11) It will be argued in the first part of this thesis that the early wind bands were very important to the later development of banding in Britain.

It will also be suggested in the present study that a major influence on bands in the late nineteenth century was the Volunteer force, formed in 1859 to strengthen Britain's defences against invasion. While it is usually recognised that the force had an important effect on banding, volunteer bands have received very little attention. (12)

Although this research has been undertaken in connection with the Department of Music of the Open University, it is interdisciplinary in character. I have given special emphasis to the social historical dimension of banding. The decision to adopt this approach reflects my background as a historian. It has also been influenced by the large amount of documentary material I have found



(13) See Bailey 1979.

which bears on social historical matters.

In particular, this evidence touches upon three important and sometimes controversial areas of nineteenth-century history. The first of these is the debate among nineteenth-century social historians concerning the degree and nature of the ideological influence of the middle class over the working class. Was the 'respectability' exhibited by some working-class people and organisations in Victorian Britain a result of the 'handing-down' of what might be termed 'middle-class' values, particularly as the result of campaigns instigated from the 1830s onwards by various educators, social reformers and churchmen? Was working-class respectability, as the work of Peter Bailey suggests, sometimes temporary, superficial and calculated, a 'role' acted out in order to obtain the favour of the respectable and which masked the persistence of more disreputable aspects of popular culture? (13) Another view has been put forward by Crossick, who has argued that working-class respectability was not just the result of the filtering-down of middle-class values. He has shown that the 'respectability' practised by artisans in Kentish London was slightly different to the respectability favoured by middle-class people, although both ideologies shared a similar language. Working-class behaviour was influenced by the persistence of older working-class traditions, which could, in some instances,

(14) See Crossick 1976.

(15) See Cunningham 1975, pp103-126.

(16) See Beckett 1982, p29; see also *ibid.*, p103, where he admits that the recreational facilities provided by the force were important attractions for working men.

tolerate behaviour which the bourgeois 'respectable' would see as disreputable. (14) The student of bands encounters a great deal of evidence relating to this controversy when considering the reasons why many working-class men joined bands in the nineteenth centuries.

A second, related debate concerns the motivation of the volunteer force established in 1859. The two main authorities on the force disagree about the importance of patriotism in influencing working men to volunteer. Hugh Cunningham, in his The Volunteer Force A Social and Political History 1859-1908 (1975), suggested that patriotism was much less important in motivating men to become volunteers than the prospect of access to the various social facilities of the force. (15) Ian Beckett has claimed, in his book, Riflemen Form A Study of the Rifle Volunteer Movement 1859-1908, (1982), that patriotism was the 'predominant motive force' for those who volunteered, although he does recognise that the social facilities offered by the force were an added attraction. (16) In analysing the evidence regarding the volunteers' reasons for supporting bands, the researcher gains some insight into the motivation of ordinary volunteers and is therefore able to make a contribution to the discussion of the role of patriotism in the force.

Keith Robbins has recently drawn attention to the differences between north and south which persisted in the

(17) Robbins 1988, p27.



nineteenth century. At the same time, he claims there was considerable 'pressure to integrate'. (17) Bands provide a case study of this process of integration; in the later nineteenth century, there was a growing consciousness amongst bandsmen that they were part of a larger 'movement'. However, my discussion of this issue is mainly limited to contesting, where there is sufficient information to allow comparisons between the south and the rest of the country.

This thesis is intended to deal with southern England; it defines that region as (roughly speaking) the area south of a line running across England from the Severn to the Wash. I have allowed this line to bend a little to include all of the counties of Gloucestershire and Cambridgeshire and to exclude Warwickshire and Northamptonshire. The use of this Severn-Wash line as a means of defining what I mean by southern England is not meant to imply that bands south of that line were fundamentally different to those to the north. Indeed, as Chapter 7 shows, there were an increasing number of similarities between some southern bands and the leading bands of the north and midlands. It is not intended to suggest that bands in the south were all similar to one another. In the 1860s, there was probably a huge difference between the Cranborne band from Dorset and the Witney band from Oxfordshire. Nor do I intend to use the Severn-Wash line to make a neat, naive and inaccurate

dichotomy between the 'industrial' north and the 'rural' south; there were rural areas in the north, just as there were industrial ones in the south. However, banding in the area south of the Severn-Wash line was different in some respects to banding elsewhere, particularly with regard to contesting. This area also has a certain amount of unity; while the south was not entirely agricultural, agriculture played an important part in most of the region outside the metropolis. At the very least, the Severn-Wash line is a convenient and conventional way of limiting the scope of this study. Throughout the thesis, I have made use of the historic county boundaries, particularly in order to indicate the location of some of the more obscure towns and villages.

As its title suggests, this thesis is largely concerned with bands made up from combinations of brass and wind instrumentalists (as well as percussion in many instances); however, it pays little attention to the fife and drum bands which were to be important in the musical life of some localities; this subject is a large one in itself and would be better dealt with in a separate study. However, I have included a chapter on church bands, which sometimes included string instruments; this is because of the importance of these in the early development of instrumental music amongst working-class people.

The word 'amateur' has been used in the title in order to indicate that this thesis does not deal at any



length with the professional civilian bands which were in existence at this time or with the professional bands attached to the regular army. My aim has been to consider what was, essentially, an amateur phenomenon - the development of brass and wind bands as a largely working-class leisure pursuit. Of course, some men made money by playing in or conducting bands, but most of the bandsmen considered in this thesis were amateurs. That is to say, the majority of them derived most of their income from a trade or profession other than playing music.

This study begins in the late eighteenth century because it was around that time that amateur band music began to become widespread amongst the working class; church bands began to appear; so did secular wind bands, particularly those associated with the auxiliary forces of the army. I have chosen to end at around 1900; by this time, bands in southern England were beginning to become more interested in contesting and thereby becoming more integrated into the wider band 'movement'. 1900 is a landmark in this process, defining a point at which contesting activity in the south intensified; in that year, the revival of regular large-scale band contesting in London took place, with the first of John Henry Iles's 'National' competitions at the Crystal Palace.

I have divided this thesis into two parts: the first (comprising the first three chapters) deals with the late



eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a period in which the foundations of amateur banding in southern England were laid. The chapter headings in Part I relate to the three types of amateur bands which appeared at this time: the bands of the auxiliary forces of the army, the church bands and civilian secular bands. The first three chapters have more or less the same structure; after a short introduction, each has sections on funding, personnel, organisation, instruments and repertoire. Chapter 2 also includes a section on the reform of the church bands. In some respects, these subdivisions correspond to the different types of evidence I have found. Also, the first three chapters have been structured by the argument that a great deal of finance was provided for early bands - particularly by the wealthier members of society - and that this affected the subsequent development of bands in a number of ways. Many workingmen were enabled to develop musical skills and traditions; the early bands made band music familiar and popular with the people of their localities; they also established disciplined, organised instrumental music-making amongst the working classes and encouraged the beginnings of commercial activity related to amateur bands.

The second part of the thesis (comprising the last four chapters) begins in the late 1830s. Banding in the Victorian period has been distinguished from banding in

(\*) In this thesis, the term 'art music' has been used to refer to those pieces originating in a tradition in Western music of styles, genres and means of production particularly associated with a number of composers who came to be defined as 'great' by Victorian educated opinion. The bulk of the 'art music' considered in this thesis was taken from the operatic and oratorio repertoire. 'Light music' is used to refer to pieces which mainly originated in a tradition of fairly transient popular music and were usually designed to entertain, rather than make great demands on the listener. Broadly speaking, 'art music' came to be allocated higher status than 'light music' in the Victorian musical hierarchy described in Chapter 4, although it will be seen that the medium upon which the music was played also affected the status of a piece in the estimation of some late nineteenth-century commentators. For instance, an oratorio chorus played by a brass band was sometimes considered to be of lesser merit than a performance of the same piece by a choir with orchestral accompaniment.



the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries because the late 1830s marks the beginning of a considerable expansion of banding which was sustained and even increased in the late nineteenth century. A number of factors associated with this expansion are also particularly associated with the Victorian period, such as the identification of banding as a morally beneficial activity for the working class, changing living standards, the introduction of valved brass instruments and a high degree of commercialisation. This period also witnessed bands performing arrangements of difficult pieces of 'art' music (\*) - a new development - and the appearance of band contesting. However, it is not intended to suggest that Victorian bands were totally different to their predecessors; indeed, there were several similarities.

Chapter 4 discusses the various views of bands put forward in books and periodicals of the Victorian period. It has been placed at the beginning of Part II because the views of the opinion-formers are an important theme in succeeding chapters. The three main sections of Chapter 4 correspond to three key aspects of Victorian attitudes to bands - the view that banding was a 'rational recreation', conducive to moral improvement; the notion that bands and band music were of inferior status to some other types of music-making and, finally, the dispute over the desirability of the Sunday bands and the bands of the Salvation Army.

Chapter 5 is intended to account for the expansion of banding which took place in the period lasting from about the beginning of the reign of Queen Victoria until 1859. After a short introduction, a section seeks to establish the social background of bandsmen and their supporters. The remaining sections consider important influences on the expansion of banding in the mid-nineteenth century: the importance of respectability and other factors in motivating working-class men to become bandsmen; the increasing availability of chromatic brass instruments; the promotion of these by the music industry and by various travelling performers. The chapter concludes by discussing a further major influence upon the expansion of banding in the late nineteenth century - the support provided by numerous middle-class people.

I have devoted Chapter 6 to volunteer bands in the late nineteenth century because the force had considerable importance in the development of banding. Also, some of the evidence relating to the volunteers is complex and requires separate treatment. Although I have included a short note on bands associated with other auxiliary units, such as the yeomanry or the militia, I have concentrated on the volunteer force because I suspect that its impact upon banding was greater. Also, I have found a large amount of interesting source material relating to volunteer bands. After a short introduction, sections ii) and iii) underline the importance of volunteer



finance for the development of banding, showing the high level of funding provided for bands by the force and the effects which volunteer patronage had upon bands. Section iv) draws attention to differences between the level of volunteer support for bands in the south and the funding provided for bands elsewhere in England. Section v) concentrates on the reasons why the force supported bands and seeks to contribute to the wider debate on the motivation of the volunteers.

Chapter 7 deals with banding in the late nineteenth century and covers the period from about 1860 to 1900. I have chosen 1860 as a starting-point because the expansion of banding seems to have quickened from about this time and new influences - such as contesting - were making themselves felt. After a short introduction, the first two sections of the chapter discuss the various roles and motives of middle-class and working-class people in the expansion of banding. The last two sections of the chapter consider commercial forces and contesting respectively, which were each to have an increasingly important influence upon southern bands in the late nineteenth century.

I have found a great deal of primary source material relating to bands. This falls into three categories. The first type comprises printed material, including local and national newspapers, books, periodicals, official reports and printed music. The second type comprises manuscript

(18) WRO 9/[1].

(19) GRO D149.



sources, such as parish, regimental or personal papers or manuscript music. The third category involves iconographic material, such as paintings or photographs.

The large volume of evidence relating to bands presents the researcher with a problem of selection which is, no doubt, familiar to other students of Victorian history. I have tried to sample most of the types of material described above; however, there is probably a slight south-western bias in the sources I have consulted, owing to the greater accessibility of the repositories of western England from my base at the Open University in Wales.

A further problem with the primary evidence relating to amateur bands is that a large amount of material remains in the hands of private collectors or is held by existing bands. I have made numerous attempts to gain access to this, sometimes utilising my own contacts with modern banding. However, I have been largely unsuccessful.

Certain primary sources have been particularly valuable in this research. I have made a great deal of use of the regimental records of the Wiltshire militia in the late eighteenth century. (18) I have also drawn extensively upon the papers of Nathaniel Winchcombe, who set up a volunteer band at Frampton-on-Severn in 1798. (19) I was very lucky to come across a typescript copy of the autobiography of William Smith, who was a member of

(20) Smith/[1].

(21) See, for instance, PP 1852 [3053] XVII, 17 - the report of the 1862 Royal Commission on the volunteer force; PP 1878-9 [c.2235] XV, 131 - the report of the Bury Departmental Committee of 1873; PP 1887 [c.2751] XVI, 271 - the report of the Volunteer Capitation Committee.

(22) ERO D/Z 81.

the Witney (Oxfordshire) band in the mid-nineteenth century. This provides a great deal of interesting information about bands in southern England. (20) The various parliamentary papers relating to the volunteer force have been very useful in my work on volunteer bands during Victoria's reign. (21) I obtained a great deal of material for Chapter 7 from the large collection of manuscript sources associated with the Woodford Military band. (22) In the latter part of this thesis, I have also made extensive use of the 'band press', especially The British Bandsman, the Brass Band News and The Brass Band Annual.

Items are reproduced in the appendix for one or more of the following reasons. They may be representative (or, in one or two cases, unrepresentative) of the different types of source material I have encountered. They may represent important evidence for the thesis which is too bulky to be reproduced in the relevant chapter or chapters. They may be, for one reason or another, inaccessible to researchers.

Finally, I am aware that there is some dispute over the meaning of the term 'instrumentation'. Throughout this study, I have used 'instrumentation' in order to refer to the combinations of instruments used by bands.

PART I: EARLY BANDS FROM THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY UP TO  
THE LATE 1830s

Chapter 1: Militia and Volunteer bands

Chapter 2: Church bands

Chapter 3: Secular civilian wind bands

## CHAPTER 1: MILITIA AND VOLUNTEER BANDS

- i) Introduction
- ii) Funding
- iii) Personnel
- iv) Organisation
- v) Instruments
- vi) Repertoire



(1) Much of the material contained in this chapter has been published recently in my article 'Militia and Volunteer Wind Bands in Southern England in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries'. (See Lomas 1989.) It will be noticed that this chapter deals only with the bands of the militia and volunteers; I am aware that other auxiliary units, such as the yeomanry, also had bands at about this time. However, I have found few references to these and I have therefore concentrated upon the bands of the militia and volunteers, which were probably more numerous and have left a great deal of source material.

(2) For an account of the history of the militia before 1757 see Western 1965, pp3-74.

(3) See table showing the dates of the first formation and embodiment of the militia for each county, 1758-78, in *ibid.*, pp447-8.

## CHAPTER 1: MILITIA AND VOLUNTEER BANDS (1)

### i) Introduction

In 1757, the militia was revived by Act of Parliament, after a long period of decay. (2) This force was to be furnished with a set quota of men from each county, selected by a ballot organised by the lord lieutenants and their deputies. Militiamen were to be given a few days' training per year and, in time of national emergency - such as war or insurrection - they were to be embodied under the same conditions as the regular army. They were to be officered by local landowners. This force was to become an important feature of life in late eighteenth-century Britain, although some counties - such as Oxfordshire and Sussex - did not get round to forming their own regiments of militia until the late 1770s. (3)

The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars saw the expansion of the militia as well as the addition of yet another tier to Britain's defences with the emergence, in the 1790s, of large numbers of volunteer corps. These were made up of civilians who had volunteered to be given some military training. Their primary function was to assist with defence against an invasion. They were armed by the government and officered by local notables. In return for their offer of service, volunteers were often

(4) Haythornthwaite 1986, p193.

(5) See WRO 9/[1]/[2]/[1]/[1], p[1], which is a bill from N. Pearce dated April 1766, relating to the purchase by the Wiltshire Militia of 'Fife lines' and slings and belts for drummers. Some of the material for this chapter is drawn from WRO 9 (Savernake Collection) and WRO 2027 (Marlborough Loyal Volunteer Infantry Merriman Papers). Both of these collections are largely uncatalogued at the moment; I have given as much information as the Wiltshire Record Office catalogue provides.

(6) See WRO 9/[1]/[3]/[1]/[1], which is the terms of service (dated 6 November 1769) of J.A. Buckner, a London musician engaged to train a band for the regiment.

(7) See SRO DD/SAS FA 106, which is a list of the 'Musick Fifers and Drumers [sic] In the Somerset Millitia [sic] ... for May 1777'.

(8) Willan 1900, p17.

(9) Woodforde 1978, p199, diary entry for 24 March 1783.

(10) Morgan [1908?], p3 states that the Bristol volunteers were formed in February 1797, although an association of some kind existed before. The band was in existence on 9 June 1797. See Brown 1798, p37. For the foundation of the Stroud band, see GRO D4851, p255. For Frampton-on-Severn, see GRO D149/X19, pp22-3 - entry for 8 August 1798.



exempted from the militia ballot. Although many units were disbanded after the Peace of Amiens in 1802, volunteer corps were to reappear in huge numbers in 1803, when it was claimed that 380,193 volunteers were under arms. (4)

At first, the music of the reformed militia was provided by fifes and drums. A bill of 1766 shows that the Wiltshire militia were purchasing various accessories for drummers and fifers. (5) However, a number of wind bands seem to have been formed by militia regiments in the late eighteenth century. The Wiltshire militia started to set up a band in 1769. (6) The Somerset militia had a band by 1777. (7) The officers of the Oxfordshire militia decided to form a band in 1778. (8) James Woodforde recorded in his diary in March 1783 that he had seen a militia band in a procession at Norwich. (9)

During the Napoleonic wars, the volunteers formed a large number of bands. In south Gloucestershire alone, at least three full military bands - at Bristol, Stroud and Frampton-on-Severn - were established in the years 1797-8. (10) George Cruikshank, who served in the Loyal North Britons, a London volunteer corps, remembered a great deal of musical activity during the invasion scare of 1803-5:

(11) Cruikshank [1860], p11.

(12) GRO D149/X19, p25. See also GRO D149/X21/15, an undated letter from Pearce to Winchcombe (the commanding officer of the corps) which was probably written in July or August 1798. This stated that Pearce's subscription fund had raised £16/6/6d and that more was expected.

(13) GRO D149/X19 p22.



in one place you might hear the "tattoo" of some youth learning to beat the drum, at another place some march or national air being practised upon the fife, and every morning at five o'clock the bugle horn was sounded through the streets ... and the same again in the evening. (11)

## ii) Funding

Where did the money to finance these bands come from? It was derived from two main sources. Firstly, donations were obtained from the people of the area and the officers of the unit concerned. Secondly, the government also provided finance. Contributions for the upkeep of a band were sometimes raised by soliciting subscriptions from local inhabitants. When the Frampton-on-Severn volunteers were raised in 1798, the bandmaster, John Pearce, set up a subscription fund which raised money for uniforms for the band. (12) The officers of militia and volunteer units seem to have contributed a great deal of money towards their bands. Nathaniel Winchcombe, the commanding officer of the Frampton-on-Severn corps, purchased a set of instruments for the unit's band in late July or early August 1798, (13) and may have ordered some more soon

(14) See GRO D149/F38A/[c], diary entry [of Nathaniel Winchcombe] for Saturday 18 August 1798 - 'Ordered Musical Instruments'. It is not clear whether the instruments were for the use of the band.

(15) WRO 9/[1]/[3]/[1]/[1], p[3].

(16) WRO 9/[1]/[3]/[2]/[2].

(17) Willan 1900, pp20-1.

(18) Western 1965, p370.

afterwards. (14) Lord Bruce, colonel of the Wiltshire militia, and William Northey, the Lieutenant-colonel, were (with Sir Samuel Long) to find in some way the 24/6d per week paid to the regimental bandmaster, J.A. Buckner. (15) Bruce also paid for instruments. (16) At a meeting of the officers of the Oxfordshire militia held in 1780, it was resolved that the following contributions would be made annually by the officers towards the upkeep of the band: the colonel of the regiment would pay £15 15s, the lieutenant-colonel £8 8s, the major £7 7s and the eight captains 5 guineas each. (17)

However, some of the funding for bands came from the government, despite the fact that (in theory) only the barest support was offered to military music. The militia acts stated that militia regiments could expect to receive only the wages, clothing allowance and equipment of a drum major, as well as similar provision for two drummers per company. In 1786, government funding was reduced. Pay and allowances were only to be available for a drum major and for a single drummer for each company - apart from the light and grenadier companies, which retained two. However, the militia act of 1786 empowered lord lieutenants or commanding officers to employ (at their own expense) additional drummers. (18) Both the drummers paid for by the government and the additional drummers were employed in militia bands. A list (dated 1796) of the drummers of the Cambridgeshire militia shows that the

(19) BL Add. 35667, f.6.

(20) Provision of pay and allowances for volunteer drummers depended on the conditions of service of the unit concerned. See Haythornthwaite 1986 for an account of the differing degrees of government funding available to volunteer corps 1803-4.

(21) Western 1965, p357.

(22) WRO 9/[1]/[3]/[2]/[1] - which is a letter from W. Peck to Lord Bruce, dated 13 January 1770 - pp[1-2].

(23) Willan 1900, p17.



regimental band consisted of 7 'Drummers' and 3 'Additional Drummers'. (19) Volunteer corps had drums provided by the government and some could claim pay for drummers from the same source. It is possible that these drums and drummers were also employed in volunteer wind bands. (20)

Government money was also appropriated to finance bands in other ways. Western's study of the eighteenth-century militia mentions that commanding officers used the profits they made from the regimental clothing allowance to finance their bands. (21) Bandsmen were also included in militia pay lists as privates and even NCOs. Two sergeants were employed in the band of the Wiltshire militia in 1770, although they were also required for other duties. A letter from William Peck (the regiment's adjutant) to Lord Bruce states that 'the Sergeants who Act in capacity of musicians' would be 'wanted likewise as Sergeants' for the beginning of the twenty-eight days of annual exercises. (22) Other regimental bands included sergeants. The officers of the Oxfordshire militia resolved in 1778 that four of the regiment's eight bandsmen should be sworn as sergeants. (23)

It will be noticed that much of the money provided for militia and volunteer bands in the late eighteenth century seems to have come from the wealthy families who constituted a large proportion of the officer class. Why did these people go to the trouble and expense of setting



(24) See Farmer [1912], pp50-1 and pp56-7.

(25) See Houlding 1981, pp260-1. However, there are one or two indications that, although there was some discouragement of bands on the battlefield, military bands of the regular army were present on campaign during the Napoleonic wars.

up military bands at this time? As the sources contain few indications of the motivation of the founders of militia and volunteer bands, the answer to this question is bound to be speculative. However, it is possible to offer a few tentative explanations. The auxiliary forces (like the regular army) may have wished to emulate the very impressive military bands on the Continent, such as those of the army of Frederick the Great, which were the envy of many European countries. (24)

Also, military bands were necessary because of contemporary tactical changes. For about a hundred years after the Restoration, many of the manoeuvres carried out by the British army were made with quite large distances between the ranks. This was because there was no means of maintaining a regular pace and there was therefore a danger that the ranks might become confused. However, at about the end of the Seven Years' War, close order manoeuvres became common practice in the British army. In order to preserve the distance between the ranks, military musicians were used to set a uniform step for the troops. It was soon realised that the musicians were inaudible and perhaps a distraction in battle. By the mid-1770s, the use of music to assist movements on the battlefield was being discouraged. However, music remained important for training purposes; it helped new recruits to develop a sense of the correct marching pace. (25) Bands would have

(26) GRO D149/X19, p22, entry for 8 August 1798.

(27) Hellyer 1980, pp167-8.

been particularly important to volunteer and militia units, which spent much of their time in training.

There is a little evidence that the officers of the auxiliary forces established bands in response to pressures 'from below'. In August 1798, Nathaniel Winchcombe recorded in his order book that 'The Corps having expressed a wish for a Band of Music', he had purchased the necessary instruments. (26) Of course, Winchcombe may have been referring to the wishes of himself and a few of the more prosperous members of the Frampton-on-Severn volunteers.

The eighteenth century witnessed the establishment of a number of small private wind bands by the European aristocracy. Aristocratic enthusiasm for this type of music - harmoniemusik - was to persist into the nineteenth century. (27) It is probable that English militia and volunteer officers took advantage of the availability of government money and public subscriptions to establish their own private bands fairly cheaply. In 1782, Francis Grose made the following recommendations to regimental commanders in his satirical Advice to the Officers of the British Army:

(28) Grose 1946, pp27-8.

(29) GRO D149/X21/36, p[1], letter to Winchcombe from William Hooper, dated 2 March 1799.



If your regiment should not be provided with a band of music, you should immediately persuade the captains to raise one. This, you know, is kept at their expense, whilst you reap the principal benefit; for besides keeping them always with your own company, and treating them as your own private band, they will, if properly managed, as by lending them to private parties, assemblies, etc., serve to raise you a considerable interest among the gentlemen of the country, and, what is of more consequence, among the ladies. (28)

Nathaniel Winchcombe's volunteer band at Frampton-on-Severn may have functioned as a private band; a letter of a horn player in the band refers to the musicians being required from time to time at 'the great House' (probably Winchcombe's Frampton Court). (29)

Volunteer and militia bands were certainly popular among the upper classes in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Militia bands appeared at a number of events attended by the wealthy. In April 1780, Jackson's Oxford Journal advertised a performance by the 'Bucks [militia] Band' at a concert and ball at Witney. As tickets cost 2/6d each, the audience would have been

(30) Jackson's Oxford Journal, Saturday 29 April 1780, p[3].

(31) The Gloucester Journal, Monday 14 December 1801, p[3]. Although the advertisement does not give much information about performers, it states that the event was organised by the bandmaster of the Oxfordshire militia band.

(32) ESRO SHR 823, diary entry for 6 June 1797. I am grateful to Dr. G. Mayhew of East Sussex County Record Office for this reference.

(33) See Ehrlich 1985, p6.

(34) Tebay [1800?], p1. There are many other examples of this.

made up of the wealthier inhabitants of the town. (30) In 1801, The Gloucester Journal advertised a concert and ball which may have featured the band of the Oxfordshire militia. Again, tickets were quite expensive; a double ticket cost 7/6d. (31) Military band music was also discussed avidly by the aristocracy; on 6 June 1797, Sir George Shiffner recorded in his diary that he had attended a review at Petworth, which was attended by the Prince of Wales. He wrote: 'Prince desired me to send him my Bugle horn march'. (32) Also, publishers saw the upper classes as potential purchasers of adaptations of band music. Pieces published for military band often included a version of the music for keyboard instruments such as the harpsichord or piano, which were still too expensive for all but the wealthiest classes. (33) For instance, the full score of J. Tebay's The Bath Volunteers March ([1800?]) included a harpsichord reduction of the piece. (34)

Some of the more wealthy members of society could afford to fund bands because many of the larger landowners enjoyed prosperity in this period. Enclosure gathered momentum in the late eighteenth century and continued over the next few years; this allowed landowners to create larger and more profitable estates quite cheaply. The introduction of innovations such as the threshing machine reduced the overheads of the improving landlord. Furthermore, the wars impeded foreign trade and the

(35) See Halevy 1949, p222 et seq. for an account of the fortunes of the landowners. See also Thompson 1988, p237 et seq..

(36) Ehrlich 1985, p1.

(37) See *ibid.*, p16 et seq. for a discussion of the domination of professional music in England by foreigners. See also Farmer 1960 ii) for a history of the use of foreigners as British army bandmasters.

(38) WRO 9/[1]/[3]/[1]/[1], p[1].



importation of corn, ensuring that the prices and profits to be expected from agriculture were high. (35)

### iii) Personnel

Where did the players for militia and volunteer bands come from at a time when, by the most recent estimate, there seems to have been no more than 2,000 professional musicians in the whole country and when there were few amateur instrumentalists? (36) At first, it is probable that militia regiments employed professional musicians to train their bandsmen from scratch. It is likely that foreign professionals - particularly Germans - were used, given the readiness of the British in the eighteenth century to import foreign musicians and given contemporary admiration for German military music. (37)

The case of the Wiltshire militia band seems to confirm this hypothesis. In November 1769, the colonel of the regiment, Lord Bruce, made an agreement with [John Adam] Buckner 'of London, Musician' to teach band instruments to seven men and to give some instruction to the regimental fifers. (38) 'Buckner' could be a German name. A letter to Lord Bruce from his adjutant, William Peck, dated January 13th 1770, described the early stages of Buckner's training of the band. Buckner seems to have tried his men out on different instruments before deciding upon which part they had to play. It also appears that he



- (39) WRO 9/[1]/[3]/[2]/[1], p[1] - letter from W. Peck to Lord Bruce, dated 13 January 1770.
- (40) Farmer [1912], p82.
- (41) Western 1965, p370.
- (42) Willan 1900, p20.
- (43) See p1 of Wreth [n.d.], which states that Wreth was bandmaster of the South Gloucestershire militia. This piece was apparently performed at Brighton in front of the Prince Regent. The regiment was stationed at Brighton for much of the Napoleonic wars.
- (44) Brown 1798, pp40-1.

would have given up with one of the bassoonists had it not been for the man's great desire to learn. (39)

There is other evidence of the employment of Germans as militia bandmasters; the bandmaster of the Royal Middlesex militia in 1776 was called Eberhardt. (40) Johann Gottfried Lehmann came from Hanover in 1794 to become bandmaster of the Cambridgeshire militia - even though he could not speak English! (41) Other bandmasters' names sound foreign. J. Vras was the bandmaster of the Oxfordshire militia in 1779. (42) Francis Wreth was bandmaster of the South Gloucestershire militia in the 1800s. (43)

Professional musicians were also employed by the volunteers in the late eighteenth century. They were probably commoner in bands based near the big cities. The 12 names and addresses of the members of the Bristol volunteer band in 1797 are given in Brown's The Rise, Progress & Military Improvement of the Bristol Volunteers. (44) Matthews's Complete Bristol Directories for the years 1798 and 1799-1800 contain lists of the names, addresses and occupations of numerous Bristol tradesmen; these have been used in conjunction with the names and addresses given by Brown to form some idea of the occupations of most of the band.

- (45) Matthews [1798?], p89. Percival[1] was the bandmaster; see Percival [1799?], p1.
- (46) Matthews [1797?], p105.
- (47) Ibid., p121.
- (48) John Cheston Hobbs does not appear in either directory. Matthews [1797?], p58 mentions John Hobbs, a 'Cork-cutter' of 'Thomas-street' and John Hobbs, a 'Butcher' of 'Redcliff-street'. (Ibid., p58.)
- (49) Ibid., p107.
- (50) Matthews [1798?], p47.
- (51) Matthews [1797?], p116.
- (52) John Rew of 'Allen's-court' does not appear in either directory. However, he may have been the 'Carpenter' of 'Hotwell-road' in Matthews [1798?], p97.
- (53) Bush's address is given as 'Bridewell-bridge' in the list of bandsmen. It is probable that this was the watch and clock maker, William Bush, whose address is given as 'Bridewell-lane' in Matthews [1797?], p24.
- (54) William Lucas's address is given as 'Montague-street' in the list of bandsmen. Matthews [1797?], p73 gives two men of this name and address; a warehouse keeper and a cheque clerk employed by the Customs.
- (55) There is no entry for William Hicks of 'Rosemary-street' in either directory. However, William Hicks, a 'Writing-master' of 'Bedminster' is given in Matthews [1797?], p57; Matthews [1798?], p58 mentions a 'Ship & Sign Painter' of the same name.



Table 1.1 : Occupations of Bristol volunteer bandsmen,  
1797

John Percivall.....	'Musician' (45)
Joseph Stansbury.....	'Musician' (46)
Andrew Winpenny Waite...	Not mentioned in either directory
David Williams.....	'Musician' (47)
John Cheston Hobbs.....	Maybe 'Cork-cutter' or 'Butcher' (48)
Joseph Sturge.....	'Music-master' (49)
William Fryer.....	'Musician' (50)
William Watkins.....	'Shoe-maker' (51)
John Rew.....	Maybe 'Carpenter' (52)
William Bush.....	'Watch & Clock-maker' (53)
William Lucas.....	'Warehouse Keeper' or 'Cheque Clerk' (54)
William Hicks.....	Maybe 'Writing-master' or 'Ship & Sign Painter' (55)

If the names and addresses of the bandsmen listed by Brown really do correspond with the names, addresses and occupations given in Matthews, the Bristol volunteers' band would seem to have included at least five professional musicians. It is possible to add to the evidence given by the local directories. Andrew Winpenny Waite does not appear in Matthews's directories for 1798

(56) See Pryce 1982, p36. I am grateful to Dr. Pryce, of the Open University, for his advice on the use of trade directories as a historical source.

(57) Morgan [1908?], p37.

(58) Hooper 1962, p272. Waite's name may suggest that his family had been connected with the Bristol waits, or municipal musicians.



or for 1799-1800. This does not mean that he was not of sufficient status to deserve an entry. As Pryce has shown in his short guide to trade directories, some people were not included because, for instance, they were afraid that the directories might be used for taxation purposes or because the compilers left them out. (56) Indeed, Morgan, in his A Brief History of the Bristol Volunteers, refers to Waite playing trumpet in a Bristol performance of Messiah in 1803. (57) Hooper's account of musical life in Bristol also mentions an individual called 'Wait', who, along with Stansbury, Sturge and Percival, seems to have promoted a concert series in 1803. (58) Waite was probably a professional musician; therefore, at least six out of the twelve members of the Bristol volunteer band were professional players.

It will be noticed that several of the Bristol bandsmen were probably not professionals; some of them appear to have been artisans of the city. A few or all of these could have joined the band as beginners and received instruction from the professionals. However, the evidence would suggest that, towards the end of the eighteenth century, an increasing pool of skilled wind instrumentalists was available and that many of these players were working-class amateurs. When Nathaniel Winchcombe decided to establish a military band for his volunteer corps at Frampton-on-Severn in 1798, he appointed the local carver, John Pearce, as bandmaster.

(59) Pearce is named as bandmaster in GRO D149/X19 p22. His occupation is given as 'carver' on p[5] of the list of men agreeing to serve in the Frampton-on-Severn corps, which was drawn up in April 1798. (GRO D149/X17.)

(60) GRO D149/X21/15, letter from Pearce to Winchcombe [n.d., probably July or August 1798].

(61) GRO D149/X17.

(62) GRO D149/X19, pp22-3.

(63) GRO D149/X17, p[5].

(64) Ibid., p[4]. (Given as 'Wilkes' in GRO D149/X19, p22.)

(65) GRO D149/X17, p[2].

(66) There are two men called Samuel Hayward in GRO D149/X17. They are given on p[2] and p[6].

(67) Ibid., p[5].

(59) Pearce was quite knowledgeable; he wrote a letter to Winchcombe, giving detailed advice about instruments for the band and about retailers to contact. Pearce's letter also implies that there were a number of competent players in the Frampton area; he wrote of the need to move quickly to engage these 'performers' before someone else employed them. (60) The little evidence I have of the occupations of the Frampton bandsmen would suggest that at least some of them were working men. - Using the list of names, occupations, parishes and sureties of the men agreeing to join the corps in April 1798; (61) it is possible to establish the occupations of 5 of the 10 members of the 'band' listed in Winchcombe's order book. (62) These are given below:

Table 1.2 : Occupations of Frampton-on-Severn bandsmen, 1798

John Pearce (bandmaster)....	'Carver' (63)
Thomas Wills (horn).....	'Farmer' (64)
James Barnard (bass drum)...	'Butcher' (65)
Samuel Hayward (clarinet)...	'Innholder' or 'Cabinet Maker'
	(66)
James Wiles (bassoon).....	'Joiner'. (67)



(68) See GRO D149/X21/36, letter from W. Hooper to Winchcombe, dated 2 March 1799.

(69) BL Add. 47775A, pp83: The term 'working class' is employed fairly broadly (and perhaps loosely) in this thesis, and refers to those individuals (and their families) who were engaged in skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled manual work. It is also applied to two other important groups which do not fit neatly into this definition: people (and their families) who were employed as shop assistants and those who worked in domestic service. The term 'artisan' has been employed with reference to those working people employed in skilled trades, individuals who sometimes (although not always) enjoyed a higher standard of living than most working-class people.

It is unlikely that players in the band were, or became, professionals; the corps was situated in a rural area and it would hardly have been worthwhile to import professionals from Bristol or Gloucester when the band was needed - about twice a week. (68) Also, Winchcombe's corps was a very small one and probably could not afford to pay any more than possibly a small fee to its musicians. (I have found no evidence of wages being paid to the band.) Indeed, the existence of large numbers of already skilled amateurs was a condition for the establishment of large numbers of bands which took place at this time.

One reason for the increasing number of able amateur working-class wind players available in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was that numerous church bands were being formed at about this time. Chapter 2 will show that a number of working men learnt to play wind instruments in these ensembles. The existence of printed and manuscript music produced for the old choirs would suggest that many church bandsmen were also musically literate.

It is difficult to uncover the musical past of the players who joined the Frampton-on-Severn band in 1798. Some of them may have learnt to play in the church bands. There was certainly a church band at Frampton-on-Severn from the 1770s, although only string instruments are known to have been used. (69) There are also a number of



(70) GRO P18 CW2/1, p[50].

(71) Ibid., p[51].

(72) Ibid., p[52].

(73) Ibid., p[56].

references in local churchwardens' accounts to payments to individual members of the volunteer band. However, the churchwardens' accounts rarely state what the payments were for; many of them may have been for non-musical work. In only one instance is there evidence that a member of the volunteer band had been previously involved in church music. The clarinetist Aaron Taysum was the parish clerk at Arlingham church from the 1780s onwards. Such a position often involved the leadership of the church band. The evidence that Taysum was the parish clerk is as follows. The Arlingham churchwardens' accounts show that he was paid roughly the same amount each year: in 1789-90 he was paid £2/9/8d, (70) in 1790-1 he received £2/12/- (71) and in 1791-2 he was paid £2/9/-. (72) These regular payments would suggest that Taysum was receiving a stipend, as many parish clerks did. In the only account of the 1790s (1795-6) in which Taysum's name does not occur, the words 'Paid the Clark's [sic] Bill' appear against a payment of £2/11/-, (73) which is comparable to earlier sums given to Taysum.

The increase in the number of skilled working-class wind players which took place in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries also occurred because the auxiliary forces had themselves been responsible for training working-class musicians. The men trained from scratch by the Wiltshire militia appear to have been drawn

(74) BL Add. 35567, f.31, p[1]. Letter from Lt.-Col. Nightingale to Hardwicke, dated 5 August [1796]. However, Lehmann was attempting to extract a pay rise from his commanding officer at the time!

(75) Willan 1900, p20.

(76) See ERO L/U 3/1, p[58] - minutes of corps meeting of 24 September 1798.

from the predominantly, working-class, lower ranks of the regiment.

Although the number of experienced amateur wind players amongst the working class was increasing in the late eighteenth century, there is evidence that demand still outstripped supply in some areas, where there was fierce competition between units for competent musicians. John Pearce's advice to Winchcombe to move quickly to engage local musicians before they were employed by others has already been mentioned. J.G. Lehmann, the bandmaster of the Cambridgeshire militia, stated in 1796 that he had had offers from other regiments. (74) Another indication that able musicians were in short supply is that units were paying generous salaries to their bandmasters. J.A. Buckner's salary of 24/6d per week as bandmaster of the Wiltshire militia has been referred to above. In 1779, it was resolved by the officers of the Oxfordshire militia, that the bandmaster, J. Vras, would be paid the princely sum of two pounds, two shillings per week. (75) The fact that some units even felt it necessary to make small payments to ordinary bandsmen may be a further sign that skilled players were still in short supply. The Loyal Chelmsford Volunteers were paying their bandsmen 1/6d per week in 1798. (76)

Various commentators have suggested that bandsmen from the militia and volunteers may have joined civilian



(77) See Russell and Elliot 1936, p27 and Taylor 1979, pp17-18.

(78) NRO:MS:427, T131D:L8338, p53r. Manns stated that an 1813 collection of hymns mentioned one James Philoe as parish clerk of East Dereham.

(79) A paraphrase of this is in BL:Add: 47775A, p91.

(80) See Carse 1945, p195 et seq.

(\*) I have found no primary evidence of women playing in amateur bands in southern England in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. My own research has indicated that, generally speaking, women assisted bands by helping with activities such as fund-raising and that, in banding, as in society as a whole, women were usually consigned to a subordinate and supporting role. However, when this thesis was being prepared, Dr. Trevor Herbert kindly allowed me to see in typescript the first chapter of his book Bands: The Brass Band Movement in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, which is to be published by the Open University Press in 1991. In this, he provides evidence that some women instrumentalists were playing in the bands of the Salvation Army.



bands after their military service. (77) Although I have only found a little evidence to support this view, it is probably correct. A.H. Manns, in his research into music in Norfolk, came to suspect that James Philoe - a member of the Norfolk militia band in 1788 - was later parish clerk of East Dereham. (78) This position may have entailed membership of the church band. In 1939, K.H. MacDermott received a letter from Miss U. Church, concerning the church band at Hatfield (Hertfordshire). This band ceased to exist in about 1850. Miss Church referred to her father's recollection that the Hatfield church bandsmen 'had been members of the old Militia band'. (79) At least one famous professional musician began his career as a militia bandsman. John Distin was a band boy in the band of the South Devon militia. He was later to become one of the greatest trumpet players of his time, playing with the Grenadier Guards band, the Prince Regent's band and a celebrated brass quintet consisting of himself and his four sons. (80) However, the importance of militia and volunteer bands to the development of amateur banding was not just related to the release of trained players after the wars; as Chapter 2 will show, these bands were also helping to establish a tradition of band-playing among working men. (\*)

(81) Western 1965, pp417-429.

(82) BL Add. 35670 f.202, p[1]-[2].

(83) BL Add. 35667, f.31 - letter from Lt.-Col. Nightingale to Hardwicke, dated 5 August [1796], p[1].

(84) See GRO D149/X21/35 (request for dismissal of W. Hooper, signed by J. Pearce and others) and GRO D149/X21/36 (letter from W. Hooper to Winchcombe, dated 2 March 1799).

(85) GRO D149/X21/57 (draft letter from Winchcombe to Rider, dated 1 November 1799).

#### iv) Organisation

The discipline of the auxiliary forces was sometimes poor, as Western's history of the eighteenth-century militia shows. (81) In particular, the behaviour of musicians could sometimes pose problems for the military authorities. The bandsmen of the Cambridgeshire militia were brought before a court of enquiry when they refused to perform at a ball organised by one of the officers in 1798. (82) In 1796, the bandmaster of the Cambridgeshire militia, J.G. Lehmann, was confined to his room after he had absented himself from parade without leave in order to fulfil an engagement elsewhere. (83) In 1799, a dispute of some sort blew up between the bandmaster of the Frampton-on-Severn volunteers and William Hooper, one of the horn players. Hooper was eventually compelled to leave the band. (84) Hooper's replacement as horn player was unsatisfactory; as a result of persistent non-attendance, he was dismissed in November 1799. (85)

Breaches of discipline by bandsmen may have been treated more indulgently than the misdemeanours of others; it is mentioned in the preceding section of this chapter that bandsmen were in short supply; it was therefore unwise to lose or antagonise them. In 1798, the matter of the insubordination of the Cambridgeshire militia

(86) BL Add. 35670, f.202, p[2]. There is certainly no record of any further action being taken against them.

(87) GRO D4851, pp263-4.

(88) See WRO 2027/[3]/[1].

(89) ERO L/U 3/1, p[70], minutes of meeting of 5 November 1798.

(90) See GRO D149/X19, p36 (entry for 12 June 1799) - 'Ordered that Thomas Humphreys & Phillip Lodge be admitted members of the Corps & of the Band'.



bandsmen seems to have been dropped after they had apologised to the court. (86)

However, as one would expect, the bands of the auxiliary forces were still subject to a certain amount of discipline. Bandsmen were often expected to attend regular band practices; the members of the band of the Loyal Stroud volunteers were to attend the corps on Thursday nights and faced a fine of 2/6d if they were absent without a reasonable excuse. (87) The Marlborough volunteer infantry band seems to have operated a similar system of fines. (88) The Loyal Chelmsford volunteers expected their bandsmen to attend band practices held in the Shire Hall every Thursday night at 6 o'clock. (89) Those militia bandsmen who were recruited from amongst the sergeants, drummers and privates of the regiment were subject to military discipline, which was (at least in theory) as strict as that of the regular army when their regiment was on active service. Volunteer bandsmen often seem to have been subject to the regulations of their corps; in 1799, Winchcombe made a point of noting that new members of the Frampton-on-Severn band were members of the corps as well, and therefore subject (presumably) to the same discipline. (90)

Therefore, the militia and volunteer bands were disciplined ensembles, with rules enforcing regular attendance at rehearsals and other aspects of discipline. In those respects, they prefigured - and possibly influenced - the disciplined, organised civilian secular bands which were to appear in such large numbers from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.

v) Instruments

I have found details of the instrumental combinations employed by 7 militia and volunteer bands during this period. These are given in Table 1.3 below:

Table 1.3: Instrumental forces of volunteer and militia  
bands, 1770-1804

Bands (see notes below)							
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Oboe	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Clarinet	3	2	5	2	4	6	3
Horn	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
Bassoon	2	1	2	2	2	1	1
Flute	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Fife	?	-	-	-	-	-	2
Piccolo	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Trumpet	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Bugle horn	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Serpent	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Bass drum	-	1	1	-	1	1	1
Cymbals	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Side Drum	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Triangle	-	-	2	-	-	1	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total players	?	6	15	8	9	12?	13?

- (91) WRO 9/[1]/[3]/[1]/[1], p[1].
- (92) WRO 9/[1]/[3]/[2]/[1], p[1]. (Letter from W. Peck to Lord Bruce, dated 13 January 1770.)
- (93) WRO 9/[1]/[3]/[2]/[2]. (Receipt dated 27 July 1770.)
- (94) WRO 9/[1]/[3]/[2]/[1], p[2]. (Letter from W. Peck to Lord Bruce, dated 13 January 1770.)
- (95) Jackson 1972, p28.



#### A) Wiltshire Militia, 1770

It was originally intended that the band of the Wiltshire militia should consist of 3 clarinets, 2 horns and 2 bassoons. (91) However, it seems that these instruments were used in conjunction with an unspecified number of the regimental fifers. The adjutant reported in 1770 that the clarinetists, horn players and bassoonists had been selected and that they were practising with the regimental fifers. He wrote that the bandmaster 'finds great fault with our fifes, their not being in unison with the Clarinetts [sic]... he says we have only two proper to play with the other Instruments'. (92) Probably as a result of the bandmaster's complaints, three flutes were purchased shortly afterwards, presumably for the use of the fifers. (93) It is likely that the bandmaster, J.A. Buckner, also played in the band; Peck told Lord Bruce that it would be necessary for a special coat to be made for Buckner with pockets for the instruments. (94)

#### B) Lynn Association, 1779

These details are taken from what appears to be a contemporary picture reproduced by D.W. Jackson in his history of wind and brass bands in King's Lynn. (95)

(96) Farmer [1912], pp83-4.

(97) ERO L/U 3/4/[1], p[5]. Minutes of committee meeting of 26 October, 1798.

(98) GRO D149/X19, pp22-3. Gloucester Folk Museum has a collection comprising most of the band's instruments. This consists of: (F1533-4) two clarinets by Goulding of Pall Mall, London; (F1535 a & b) two bassoons, also by Goulding; (F1536-7) two horns by George Henry Rodenbostel of Piccadilly, London; and (F1538) a bass drum.

(99) Fisher 1871, p80.

C) West Middlesex Militia, 1793

This is the band which Farmer, in his The Rise & Development of Military Music, states was mentioned in a letter by the Lavenham innkeeper, W.J. Mattham, in 1793. The triangles were played by boys and the cymbals by a negro. (96)

D) Loyal Chelmsford Volunteers, 1798

In 1798, a 'Committee of Music' was established by the Loyal Chelmsford Volunteers to acquire some instruments for the corps and to report on the state of the band. The details given in Table 1.3 are from the proceedings of this committee, which listed the band's instruments. The committee also stated that the corps needed a further clarinet and a bass drum in order for the band to be entirely satisfactory. (97)

E) Frampton-on-Severn Volunteers, 1798

This is taken from a list of bandsmen and their instruments contained in Winchcombe's order book. A triangle and 2 'Octave Flutes' were also available for the use of the band. (98)

F) Loyal Stroud Volunteers, c.1798

This is taken from P.H. Fisher's history of Stroud. (99)  
It conflicts with some of the details given by Charles

(100) GRO D4851, p255.

(101) The two groups of musicians were listed separately in Winchcombe's order book. See GRO D149/X19, p21 for a list of fifers and drummers and *ibid.*, pp22-3 for a list of the band.

(102) WRO 2027/[3]/[1].



Hill in his manuscript history of Stroud which bears the title Stroud Relics. Hill gives the band as comprising a bandmaster, 5 clarinets, 2 horns, a bassoon, a serpent, a tambourine, cymbals, a bass drum, a triangle, a drum major, 2 drummers and a fifer. (100) The difference between Fisher's and Hill's versions may have occurred partly because Hill described all the musicians of the Stroud volunteers as the 'band'; it is possible that the unit's instrumentalists were divided into a corps of fifes and drums and a band, as was the case with the Frampton-on-Severn volunteers. (101) The extra clarinetist in Fisher's account may have been the bandmaster mentioned by Hill.

G) Marlborough Volunteer Infantry, 1804

This is taken from a list marked 'Marlboro Volunteer Infantry Band Drums & Fifes'. (102) It is possible that the musicians in this list were actually divided into two separate units - the band and the corps of drums and fifes.

Using the above information and a number of other, more fragmentary sources, it is possible to make a few observations on the instrumental combinations used by volunteer and militia bands in this period.

It is clear that, at the beginning of this period, the bands of the auxiliary forces were fairly small. The

(103) SRO DD/SAS FA 106.

(104) Willan 1900, p17.

(105) Farmer [1912], p68.

(106) Brown 1798, pp40-1.

(107) For the fifes and drums, see GRO D149/19, p21. It is striking that a corps which originally had only 110 members (see Whiting 1970, p15) possessed so many musicians.

band of the Wiltshire militia was originally intended to consist of 7 players. A list of the 'Musick' of the Somerset militia (dated May 1777) shows that the regimental band had 6 players. (103) In 1778, the officers of the Oxfordshire militia decided to set up a band of 8 musicians. (104) The Lynn Association band consisted of 6 instrumentalists in 1779. In this respect, the bands of the auxiliary forces were similar to bands employed by the regular army at about this time. Farmer states that the Guards bands in the early 1780s consisted of only 8 players. (105)

By the end of the eighteenth century, volunteer and militia bands tended to be somewhat larger. Thus, the West Middlesex militia band of 1793 consisted of 15 players. In 1797, the Bristol volunteers had a band of 12 musicians, as well as a corps of 13 drummers. (106) Even a small volunteer corps, such as the Frampton-on-Severn volunteers, could support a band of 9 musicians and a bandmaster as well as 4 fifes and drums. (107)

The increase in the average size of the military bands of the auxiliary forces in the late eighteenth century may have been facilitated by (and testimony to) the increasing availability of skilled amateur instrumentalists. It may also have been underpinned by increasing levels of funding. The twin threats of invasion and civil disorder which were present during the French

(108) See Essex [1799], p3.



Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars may have galvanised the propertied classes into providing more money for the auxiliary forces. There might therefore have been more funds available for the bands of the militia and volunteers.

A further development - innovations in instrumentation - ran in parallel with, and influenced, the expansion of the military band. At the beginning of this period, bands appear to have been made up of clarinets, horns and bassoons. A band of this sort was envisaged by the founders of the Wiltshire militia band in 1769. By the 1770s, bands were adding to this 'core' of instruments. The Wiltshire militia were employing fifes in their band in 1770, which were possibly supplanted later by flutes.

Also, from about the 1770s, bands were including percussion instruments. The Lynn Association band included a bass drum in 1779 and it would appear that the bass drum was considered an essential part of a band's equipment after about this time. By the end of the eighteenth century, other percussion instruments were being used in the bands of the auxiliary forces. The band of the West Middlesex militia included two triangles and a pair of cymbals in 1793. The Loyal Stroud volunteers may have had a tambourine in about 1798. T. Essex's The Grand March of the Hampstead Loyal Association... [1799] included a part for timpani. (108) By the early nineteenth century, some

(109) See Guest [1805], p1 and p3.

(110) Farmer 1960 i), pp44-5.

(111) See Croft-Murray 1980, p141.

(112) GRO D149/X21/15, letter from J. Pearce to  
Winchcombe, [n.d., probably July/August 1798].

(113) Abington [1796], Essex [1799] and Attwood [1803]  
had parts for Bb clarinets. The clarinet parts for  
Percival [1799?] and Guest op. cit. were in C.

bands seem to have possessed a great deal of percussion. George Guest's A New Troop, Composed for the Wisbech Volunteer Band... [1805] called for side drums, tambourine, cymbals, triangle and bass drum. (109) The addition of percussion instruments to the bands of the auxiliary forces in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was influenced by contemporary enthusiasm for 'Turkish music'. This had taken hold of European military bands by the early eighteenth century and affected British military musicians a little later. (110)

Extra clarinets were also added in the late eighteenth century. In 1770, the band of the Wiltshire militia included 3 clarinets. By 1798, the Frampton-on-Severn volunteers were using 4 clarinets and their neighbours at Stroud were using perhaps as many as 6. By the end of the eighteenth century, the clarinet in C was gradually being replaced by the clarinet in Bb. (111) John Pearce recommended to Winchcombe in 1798 that he should purchase '4 B Clarionets' for his band. (112) However, C clarinets were still in use in a number of bands in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Out of a random sample of 5 published pieces for military band dating from the period 1796-1805, two had parts for C clarinets, whilst the other three had parts in Bb. (113) The Loyal Chelmsford Volunteers were

(114) See ERO L/U 3/4/[1].

(115) Walrond 1897, p241 - reprinted from the regimental accounts. It is not surprising that I have found only one reference to the use of trombones. Trevor Herbert has shown that the trombone had become virtually obsolete in Britain by the end of the seventeenth century. It was only reintroduced in 1784, twenty-two years before the date of this reference. (See Herbert 1984, pp455-488.)

(116) See Farmer [1912], p44-7, pp62-3.

(117) Russell [1795], p2.



using a C clarinet in 1798, although this was one of a number of second-hand instruments purchased at a reduced price by the corps. (114)

Other instruments were added to the 'core' of clarinets, horns and bassoons in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The bugle horn and trumpet were in use in many bands by the end of the eighteenth century. The serpent was brought into some bands at about the same time; the Loyal Stroud Volunteers had a serpent in about 1798. Table 1.3 probably gives a misleading impression of the extent of its use; in the random sample of 5 pieces of published music mentioned on the preceding page, all 5 had parts for serpent. The trombone and the bass horn were probably very much rarer; I have only found a single reference which indicates the use of either instrument: the band of the Devon militia spent 6/- 'for bass horn and trombone bindage' in 1806. (115)

The oboe, which had been important in military bands in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (116) seems to have been superseded by the clarinet in many of the bands of the auxiliary forces by the end of the eighteenth century. Only one of the bands in Table 1.3 (the Loyal Chelmsford Volunteers in 1798) included an oboe. Few published pieces included parts for oboes; W. Russell's A favorite [sic] March Composed for the Guildford Volunteers [1795], included parts for 2 oboes, but this seems to have been unusual. (117)

(118) WRO 2027/[1], p[42], minutes of committee meeting of 12 April 1813.

(119) Ibid., p[45], minutes of committee meeting of 26 April 1813.

I have only found a little evidence to suggest that, with the disbanding of militia and volunteer units at the end of the wars with France, a number of second-hand instruments used in the bands of the auxiliary forces came onto the market; when the band of the Marlborough Volunteer infantry was disbanded in 1813, the musicians were asked to submit an offer for the instruments of the corps. (118) When this was rejected as inadequate, it was decided that the instruments would be auctioned. (119)

(120) Croft-Murray 1980, p140.

## vi) Repertoire

If the British Library catalogue gives a fair impression of the situation, there were few pieces of music published which were specifically intended for the bands of the auxiliary forces before the last decade or so of the eighteenth century. One of the few exceptions to this was Fifty Five Marches for the Militia..., by James Oswald, which was published in 1759. The collection contained marches for the militias of each of the counties of England and Wales. Each of the marches was scored for two treble instruments only. Croft-Murray states that the pieces may have been intended for fifes, oboes, or C clarinets. He points out that the second part of one of the marches includes an optional low B, which would have been unplayable on any of the treble instruments of the time, other than the C clarinet. (120) However, given the popularity of fife and drum bands in the middle of the century, it is most likely that these pieces were played on fifes.

Example 1.1 below (The Surry March) is representative of the items in the Oswald collection. Like most of the marches, it is a short, simple piece in binary form. Dotted rhythms are important in this, as they are in the other Oswald marches.



(121) Oswald [1759], p24.

Example 1.1: James Oswald's The Surry March [1759] (121)



The apparent paucity of mid-eighteenth century published music specifically intended for the militia and volunteers may be a reflection of the fact that the bands attached to the auxiliary forces represented a very small (although quite wealthy) market at this time. The volunteers had not yet come into existence and some counties had been tardy in establishing their militias. The number of military bands attached to the auxiliary forces therefore probably did not exceed a few dozen. It was also difficult for publishers to produce music which

(122) See, for example, Croft-Murray 1980, p141.

(123) WRÖ 9/[1]/[3]/[1]/[2].

appealed to a large number of these bands because (as the section above on instruments showed) contemporary military bands were not standardised. A number of these 'bands' and Although there is not much evidence concerning the music used by nearly all militia bands, it is nevertheless possible to make a few tentative observations. Although there was little music published especially for the auxiliary forces, militia bands could obtain music from two other sources. A small amount of published music intended for military bands in general was available and was probably used by militia bands. (122) Also, there is evidence that bandmasters were expected to supply music in manuscript for their bands. In 1769, a modification of the contract of J.A. Buckner, bandmaster of the Wiltshire militia, stated that Buckner agreed to furnish as much music for the band as his time allowed. (123)

It is my impression that, during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, the bands of the auxiliary forces began to attract a great deal of commercial interest. A variety of marches dedicated to specific volunteer or militia units were published at this time. The largest single category was represented by slow or grand marches, which were used for parades, reviews and exercises. The slow march, like the marches in the Oswald collection, made a great deal of use of dotted rhythmic patterns. Example 1.2, the opening bars of T. Essex's

(\*) There are two reasons why I am of the opinion that grand marches such as this were played slowly; the word 'grand' seems to suggest a deliberate, majestic tempo. Also, a slow tempo for such pieces is indicated by the title of a march published two years before the publication of the Essex's piece: Septimus Miles's The Honourable Artillery Company's Grand Slow March and Quick Step.... (See Miles [1797].)

(124) Essex [1799], p3.



The Grand March of the Hampstead Loyal Association,  
(published 1799) is representative of this type of music.  
(\*)

Example 1.2: Opening of Timothy Essex's The Grand March of  
the Hampstead Loyal Association [1799] (124)

Clarineti  
in Bb.

Flauto  
in B

Corni  
in Eb

Tromba  
in Eb

Fagotti

Serpente

Tympano  
in Eb

3

(125) Abington [1796], p2.

Another popular type of march was the quick march or quickstep, used for manoeuvring. Like the Oswald marches, these also made a great deal of use of dotted rhythms, as Example 1.3, the first repeated strain of William Abington's The Royal East India Quick March (published in 1796), shows.

Example 1.3: First repeated strain of William Abington's  
The Royal East India Quick March... [1796] (125)

2

Trumpet

Corni

Clarinet 1<sup>mo</sup>

Clarinet 2<sup>do</sup>

Bassoon & Serpent

Piano Forte

*mf*

(\*) There are several reasons why I believe that the triple time section of the troop was played one-in-a-bar. In the first place, it would have been impossible to march to the music if there had been three beats in the bar. Also, the troop developed out of the waltz, a dance usually played one-in-a-bar. (See Croft-Murray 1980, p140.) Finally, the music for the triple time section of Percival's The Bristol Volunteer Troop (given in Appendix 6) - with bass crotchets on the first quaver of each 3/8 bar - rather suggests that pieces of this kind had a one-in-a-bar 'feel'.

(126) Guest [1805], p3. Guest was a prolific composer of troops; the British Library catalogue lists six troops by him; several of these were written for the Wisbech volunteers.



The troop was also important as a parade march in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This consisted of an introduction, which was usually slow and could be in 2/4 or common time, often incorporating the dotted rhythms characteristic of other martial music. This was followed by the main part of the piece, which was in triple time, played with a one-in-a-bar 'feel'. Example 1.4 gives the first few bars of the main part of George Guest's A New Troop, Composed for the Wisbech Volunteer Band..., published in 1805. (\*)

Example 1.4: Start of triple time section of George Guest's A New Troop... [1805] (126)

Andante

[C. Flute 1<sup>st</sup>]

[C. Flute 2<sup>nd</sup>]

[Trump<sup>t</sup> or Bugle in C]

[Horn 1<sup>st</sup> & 2<sup>nd</sup> in C]

[Clar: 1<sup>st</sup>]

[Clar: 2<sup>nd</sup>]

[Bassoon & Serpent]

[Side Drum]

[Bass Drum]

Andante



(127) Ball [1808], p5.

(128) Essex [1799], p[1].

Also, at least one funeral march was composed for the bands of the auxiliary forces. The bandmaster of the Ipswich volunteers wrote a Funeral March for them, which was published in 1808. (127)

Although these pieces were usually dedicated to specific militia and volunteer units, publishers sought to maximise demand for them in various ways. It was often stated on the title pages of these pieces that they had already been played by a well-known professional band. For instance, the title page of Timothy Essex's The Grand March of the Hampstead Loyal Association... proclaimed that the piece was 'performed by His Royal Highness the Duke of York's Band' - information which, no doubt, served as a powerful endorsement. (128)

The problems posed for music publishers by the unstandardised nature of contemporary military bands were to some extent solved by the publication of almost all military band scores complete with a version for keyboard. The fact that a keyboard version (which was easier to read than a full score) was provided meant that it was quite straightforward for a bandmaster to adapt a piece to suit the instrumental combination of his own band. The provision of a keyboard score also meant that the piece could be played in the houses of the wealthy.

It may be a further indication of increasing commercial interest in producing music for bands of the

(129) Attwood [1799]. The piano version of these pieces was published in 1799. I have been unable to find a copy of the military band score, although p2 of the piano version states that 'The Marches may be had for a Full Military Band'.

(130) Attwood [1803].

(131) See Haas 1950 for a discussion of Haydn's English military marches.

(132) See Golby and Purdue 1984, p33 et seq..

(133) Haas op. cit., p53.

auxiliary forces that a variety of composers - some of them quite eminent professional musicians - produced marches for these units. Thomas Attwood, pupil of Mozart, composer to the Chapel Royal and organist of St. Paul's Cathedral, wrote his The Third Regiment of Royal East India Volunteers Slow and Quick Marches... in about 1799.

(129) In 1803, Attwood's Royal Exchange March... (dedicated to the Loyal London volunteers) was published.

(130) Joseph Haydn wrote two military marches for the Derbyshire volunteer cavalry in the mid-1790s. (131)

Golby and Purdue and others have drawn attention to the commercialisation of leisure in the eighteenth century. (132) The publishing of military music seems to have been another example of this trend. Part of the explanation for the music industry's interest in the bands of the auxiliary forces is that these bands represented a large market by the end of the eighteenth century, particularly because numerous volunteer bands were being established. Also, because of the support of the aristocracy, a great deal of money was available for the commissioning of new pieces. Haydn later recounted how he had initially refused Sir Henry Harpur's request for two marches for the Derbyshire volunteer cavalry. However, Harpur offered him the huge sum of fifty guineas, which was far too much for the composer to decline! (133)

Although the commercial production of a large number

(134) Felix Farley's Bristol Journal, Saturday 10 June 1797, p[3].

(135) Jackson's Oxford Journal, Saturday 2 January 1790, p[3].



of marches for the militia and volunteers only appears to have persisted for the duration of the wars against France, it represented the stirrings of interest in the commercial potential of amateur band music, and may have shown the music industry that there was money to be made in this field.

The publication of large quantities of music for the bands of the auxiliary forces is also significant because it underlines the fact that at least some militia and volunteer bandsmen were musically literate. The bands of the auxiliary forces were not just responsible for training working men to play instruments; they probably had a broader role, providing basic musical education.

Although the bands of the auxiliary forces existed to provide military music, they also performed at numerous civilian functions. Sometimes, they played background music at festive occasions. The pieces they played were often band arrangements of popular national songs. Thus, Felix Farley's Bristol Journal reported that the band of the Royal Buckinghamshire militia played God Save the King 'and other loyal, national and martial tunes' when they performed at the king's birthday celebrations at Bristol in June 1797. (134) At the opening of the Oxford Canal in 1790, the band of the Oxfordshire militia appeared on a boat, playing The Roast Beef of Old England while an ox was roasted on the wharf. (135) Although there is no

- (136) The Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 68 (1798), p1078.
- (137) GRO D149/X21/15, letter from Pearce to Winchcombe [n.d., probably July/August 1798].
- (138) Jackson's Oxford Journal, Saturday 29 April 1780, p[3]. The advertisement refers to the 'Bucks Band'; this was probably the band of the Buckinghamshire militia, who were in the area at about this time.
- (139) Gloucester Journal, Monday 14 December 1801, p[3]. The advertisement gives little detail relating to the performers at this event. However, it was organised by the bandmaster of the Oxfordshire militia.
- (140) Walrond 1897, pp288-9.

evidence that bands were accompanying singing on these occasions, it is possible that some members of the audience joined in. Bands of the auxiliary forces were also used to accompany dances; the band of the Berkshire militia played 'country dances' during a royal visit to Broad Mead, near Wyke Regis, in 1798. (136)

There is also a certain amount of evidence that bands sometimes gave concerts. John Pearce, bandmaster of the Frampton-on-Severn volunteers, advised Nathaniel Winchcombe in 1798 that the instruments purchased for the band should be 'fit for concerts'. (137) Jackson's Oxford Journal carried an advertisement in 1780 for a concert at Witney, probably given by the Buckinghamshire militia band. (138) In 1801, the Gloucester Journal advertised a concert which may have featured the Oxfordshire militia band. (139) In 1813, bands which formed part of the Plymouth garrison, such as the band of the Devon militia, were expected to play for between half an hour and an hour each evening after parade. (140)

The performances of the bands of the auxiliary forces at a variety of functions helped to make the population accustomed to hearing wind bands playing a fairly light repertoire. Some bands (and the music they played) may have become quite popular in their localities. Chamberlain mentions that the appearances of the fife, drum and bugle band of the Berkshire militia were eagerly anticipated by the people of Reading in the years immediately after

(141) See Chamberlain [c.1929], pp125-6.



the Napoleonic wars. The band made such an impression upon the townsfolk that, over seventy years later, at least one old man was to claim that he could still write down one of the marches from memory. (141) Although fife, drum and bugle bands fall outside the scope of this thesis, Chamberlain's account indicates that, at the very least, the associations of the auxiliary forces with the suppression of radical protest did not necessarily hinder the popularity of their bands.



## CHAPTER 2: CHURCH BANDS

- i) Introduction
- ii) Funding
- iii) Personnel
- iv) Organisation
- v) Instruments
- vi) Repertoire
- vii) Reform

- (1) See Temperley 1979, vol. 1, p147.
- (2) Ibid., pp147-8.
- (3) See ibid., p149 for table showing early examples of the use of instruments by rural choirs.
- (4) Ibid., p197.
- (5) See table and notes in MacDermott 1923, pp91-3. I have not counted those churches in MacDermott's table where only a barrel organ or a pitchpipe was used.
- (6) BL Add. 47775A refers to bands at the following Gloucestershire churches: Chedworth (p79); Saintbury (p80); Rockhampton (p81); Kin[gs?]cote (p81); Ampney Crucis (p81); Bream (p81); Rodborough (p82); Frampton-on-Severn (p83). On p79, MacDermott also states that Broughton [probably Broughton Poggs] was in Gloucestershire; it was not a Gloucestershire parish. In addition, the indexes of the Gloucestershire Record Office include the following references to church bands:
  - a) Cranham: subscription list for purchase of bass viol, 1831.(GRO P103 CW2/1 [in back cover, reversed].)
  - b) Hartpury: voucher for purchase of violoncello, 1840. (GRO P165 CW2/3, voucher dated 10 October 1840.)
  - c) Brunswick Baptist Church, Gloucester: voucher for purchase of violoncello strings, 1828. (GRO D4373/4/9, voucher dated 22 October 1828.)
  - d) Tewkesbury Baptist Church: manuscript music books for church band, c.1804-1840. (GRO D4944/11/3.)

## CHAPTER 2: CHURCH BANDS

### i) Introduction

In the early eighteenth century, many rural churches set up choirs. As many country churches could not afford organs to assist the singers, these choirs probably performed unaccompanied at first. The pitchpipe later came into use to assist with the pitching of the beginning of a piece. (1)

There are a few indications from the early eighteenth century that it was envisaged that wind or string instruments could accompany the singing in country churches. (2) However, there is no evidence of the use of such instruments by the choirs until about the 1740s. (3) After this time, the singers in some country churches began to be accompanied by instrumentalists. At first, only one or two players were used. Later in the eighteenth century, small instrumental ensembles, consisting of various combinations of wind and stringed instruments, came into use. These church bands were to become very widespread, particularly during the period from about 1780 to 1830. (4) In his Sussex Church Music in the Past, K.H. MacDermott listed 90 churches in Sussex alone which had bands at some time or another. (5) I have found evidence of 12 church bands in Gloucestershire; there were probably many more. (6)

(7) Galpin 1906, p101.

(8) Temperley 1979, vol. 1, pp196-7.

(9) See *ibid.*, pp85-99.



Although many of the church bands ceased to exist in the middle of the nineteenth century, they persisted in south-west England until the 1890s. In his notes on old church bands and choirs (published in 1906), F.W. Galpin stated that the church band at Winterborne Abbas in Dorset only became defunct 'ten years ago'. (7) Temperley (in his The Music of the English Parish Church) mentions a survey of church music in the diocese of Truro which was carried out in 1895. It was reported that 18 out of 219 parishes were using orchestral instruments in church services. (8)

## ii) Funding

Originally, part of the motivation for the establishment of choirs in country churches in the eighteenth century had been a desire on the part of clergymen and others to improve the standard of congregational singing. Before this time, the music in many country churches consisted of unaccompanied psalms. These were sung by the congregation using the technique of 'lining out' - that is to say, the parish clerk would read a line or pair of lines of the psalm, and the line or lines would then be sung by the congregation, led by the parish clerk. It would take a long time to sing a psalm in this manner (especially as the tempi selected were usually very slow) and the musical result was often painful to the educated ear. (9)



(10) BRO D/P 91 5/1, p43, entry for 11 September 1786.

The new choirs were intended to learn to sing psalm tunes and assist the congregation. To this end, some clergymen attempted to ensure that the singers were dispersed throughout the church, rather than located in any one place. It was hoped that this would obviate the necessity for music to be 'lined out' in future.

However, the original intentions of these clergymen were often thwarted. The singers seem to have been more interested in developing an ambitious repertoire of church music, in which the congregation played little part. They therefore preferred to sit together; it was easier for them to perform in this way and they could also gain confidence from one another. Usually the singers eventually managed to have some area of the church set aside for their own use; in some cases, the choir were allocated a special pew. In many others, the singers were located in a gallery, often at the west end of the church. A great many of these were constructed in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, often at considerable expense. For instance, the churchwardens' accounts for Pangbourne, Berkshire, include a payment made in 1786 of £15/14/- to 'John Hill Carpenter for building the Singers Gallary Vestery room & Sundry - other repairs as p Bill'. [sic throughout] (10) Also, from about the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the choirs of some churches started to use instrumentalists to accompany their singing. Thus, the improvement of congregational singing

(11) Temperley 1979, vol. 1, p155. See also Gammon 1981, p70 which mentions such a stipulation applying to the gallery at Mayfield, Sussex, in 1731.

(12) Gammon op. cit., p72.

(13) See Halevy 1949, pp397-9 for a description of pluralism and absenteeism amongst the clergy in the early nineteenth century.

had led in a rather different direction to that originally intended by the reformers of the early eighteenth century. However, vestiges of the original motives for the establishment of the choirs remained in the regulations governing the use of the area occupied by the choir. It was often stipulated that the singers were occasionally required to sit amongst the congregation. Of course, these rules may not have been observed. (11)

One explanation for this departure from the sort of church music envisaged in the early eighteenth century has been provided by Gammon, in his paper on the rise and suppression of the choirs. Gammon has suggested that part of the explanation for the choirmen's importance in the music in country parish churches in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is that many contemporary clergymen were absentees. Others were ignorant of, or indifferent to, musical matters. The choirs therefore became influential in some parishes by default, 'as it were filling a sort of vacuum'. (12) Gammon's explanation of developments in rural church music during this period may apply to a great number of parishes. It is true that many contemporary clergymen were absentees and that this was to be a cause of increasing concern in the nineteenth century. (13) It is also the case that some incumbents did not bother themselves overmuch with the state of the music in their churches. In The Music of the Church considered in its various branches... (published in 1831)



(14) La Trobe 1831, p72.

(15) Hardy 1985, p73. Hardy's novel was given the alternative title of The Mellstock Quire (see *ibid.*, pxi for Simon Gatrell's discussion of this) and contains numerous references to the old bands and choirs. The 1896 introduction also contains much information. (See *ibid.*, pp3-4.) Hardy's novel is particularly valuable because he was a violinist himself and had family connections with the church bands. Hardy's father, uncle and grandfather played violin in Stinsford church band. Hardy had the Stinsford band in mind when he wrote about the Mellstock band in his novel. (See Renouf 1986, pp4-7 and p22.)

(16) Riley 1762, p1.



the reformer J.A. La Trobe criticised the laissez-faire approach adopted by some clergymen:

it were vain to cloak the indifference, with which they generally regard this part of their duty, to superintend, regulate, and inspire [sic] the music of the church. In most places, the choir are left to their own fitful struggles, without any offer of clerical assistance. (14)

The choirmen in Thomas Hardy's novel, Under the Greenwood Tree, looked back nostalgically to the days when Mr. Grinham had been parson. Mr. Grinham had been 'a very jinerous [sic] gentleman about choosing the psalms and hymns o' Sundays' and his attitude to the church band seems to have been compounded of dislike and neglect. Mr. Grinham used to say to his church band: 'blare and scrape what ye will, but don't bother me!' (15)

Some eighteenth-century people had an even more negative view of the music in country churches. The London psalmody teacher, W. Riley, wrote a short essay entitled 'The Performance of Psalmody in Country Churches' in his Parochial Music Corrected... (published in 1762). In this he complained of the 'bad Performance of Psalmody'. (16) Riley was particularly critical of the pieces used by country musicians, pieces which were, he claimed

(17) Riley 1762, p1.

(18) Gammon 1981, p66.

very improper Tunes for Public Worship, being chiefly the Productions of obscure country Teachers of Psalmody, whose Compositions (as a late learned Prelate justly observed) "are as "[sic] ridiculous as they are new;" and plainly prove, that such Composers are not acquainted with the first Principles of Harmony, nor even with that Species of Music which is proper for Parochial Singing; as their Tunes... are, indeed, fit to be sung by those only who made them. (17)

However, while there is evidence that church bands in some parishes may have come into existence as the result of absenteeism and indifference, this is not, in my opinion, an adequate explanation for the widespread appearance of church bands in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In many parishes, there is evidence that the church bands were actively encouraged by the clergy and other local notables.

Gammon has claimed that the church bandsmen often had to pay for their own instruments. (18) This may be a correct description of the situation in some areas. However, there is considerable evidence that some of the church bands received financial assistance from the people of their locality. There were two main forms that this

(19) See Chadwick 1966 vol. I, p81 et seq. and Tate 1946, pp13-24 and pp83-107.



assistance might take: firstly, the church bands were allocated money from the church rate; and, secondly, donations were made by individuals. In both of these forms of funding, the clergy and the more prosperous classes were very prominent.

The church rate was a tax on the occupiers of property located within the parish (although the poor were exempt). It was collected by the churchwardens, who were also responsible for its expenditure. The church rate was usually used to provide a number of items connected with the work of the parish church, including repairs, vestments, furniture and church music. Every year, a parish meeting or vestry was held, at which the level of church rate was set. Also, the churchwardens had to present their accounts of receipts and expenditure of the rate to the ratepayers of the parish, who could vote to disallow the accounts if they wished. At least until the nineteenth century, it was unlikely that parish policy on the church rate defied the wishes of the incumbent, who had at least three ways of influencing the outcome of the vestry. Firstly, he could control the discussion by exercising his right to chair the meeting. Secondly, he might have some influence over the vestry by virtue of his position as a prominent member of local society. Thirdly, one of the churchwardens, whose proposals for parochial expenditure were central to the meeting, was the incumbent's nominee. (19)



(20) BL Add. 47775A, p22, which draws upon the Shillington churchwardens' accounts. It is not clear whether any more was spent on the church band; it may be that MacDermott, who was often rather unsystematic in his researches, only included some of the entries relating to musical instruments contained in the accounts.

(21) BRO D/P 91/5/1, p45, entry dated 13 July 1789.

(22) BL Add. 47775A, p53, letter from Rev. H.H. Harvey to MacDermott, dated 6 July 1934.

(23) Ibid., loc. cit..

(24) Gammon 1978, p15.

(25) ESRO PAR 288 12/1, minutes of vestry meeting of 21 March 1844.

The church rate was sometimes used to provide instruments, accessories, music and tuition for church bandsmen; at Shillington (Bedfordshire) the churchwardens spent at least £8/10/5 between 1785 and 1824 on a fife, an oboe, two clarinets and reeds for wind instruments. (20) In 1789, the churchwardens' accounts for Pangbourne in Berkshire refer to the expenditure of 5/2d on 'Strings for Violin & c.'. (21) At Clawton, Devon, payments for music books (in 1787) and for the tuition of the choir (in 1791) appear in the churchwardens' accounts. (22) Church musicians sometimes received small allowances from the church rate. At Clawton, the churchwardens seem to have made annual payments to the choir for some time. (23) The stipend paid by the churchwardens to the parish clerk, who, among his other duties, often functioned as a member or even the leader of the church band, could also be seen as containing an element of reward for his musical role. Michael Turner, parish clerk and leader of the church band at Warnham, Sussex, for much of the nineteenth century, was paid ten pounds per annum by the churchwardens. (24) James Blackman, the parish clerk of Catsfield, Sussex, was paid the sum of five pounds in 1844. (25) The stipend paid by the churchwardens of Arlingham in Gloucestershire to their parish clerk, Aaron Taysum, has been mentioned in Chapter 1.

At Christmas, the church musicians in some parishes used to tour their localities, playing for the more

(26) Hardy 1985, pp3-4. Under the Greenwood Tree also includes two chapters - 'Going the Rounds' (ibid., pp28-33) and 'The Listeners' (ibid., pp34-9) - which describe the Mellstock band touring their neighbourhood at Christmas.

(27) Woodforde 1978, p516, diary entry for 26 December 1795.

(28) Galpin 1893, pp56-7.

prosperous people of the neighbourhood. Often, they would be rewarded by some quite generous gratuities; Thomas Hardy recalled that the members of the choir at Stinsford, Dorset, usually received the following:

From the manor-house ten shillings and a supper; from the vicar ten shillings; from the farmers five shillings each; from each cottage-household one shilling; amounting altogether to not more than ten shillings a head annually. (26)

On 26 December 1795, James Woodforde, rector of Weston Longville in Norfolk, recorded in his diary that he had given 2/6d 'To Weston Singers', presumably as a Christmas gratuity. (27) Some church musicians were paid in kind; Galpin stated that the choir at Winterborne Abbas had a feast provided for them each Christmas. Galpin also reproduced the Feastivall [sic] Song' sung on such occasions. (28)

Instruments were often purchased by opening subscription lists, which sometimes attracted large donations from local notables. In 1831, £3/13/- was raised by subscription for the purchase of a bass viol for use in Cranham church, Gloucestershire. The list of subscribers is headed by 'the Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Moor' who contributed the handsome sum of 10/-. Some of the other subscribers seem



(29) GRO P103 CW2/1 [at back, reversed]. Samuel Pinching, the churchwarden, contributed 10/- to the subscription fund and also lent 10/- in order to cover the difference between the cost of the instrument and the amount raised. Instruments were also paid for out of a subscription fund at other places in Gloucestershire; at Ampney Crucis, a bass viol was bought in this manner in about 1787 (GRO P15 CW2/1 [at front]); at Chedworth a bass viol was bought by subscription in 1816 (GRO P77 CW2/2 [at back, reversed].)

(30) Spark 1851, p23.

(31) SRO D/P/broo 10/3/1, letter from Col. J. Hamilton to churchwardens of Broomfield, dated 21 December 1832.

(32) BL Add. 47775A, p88.

(33) SRO D/P/chin.w. 4/1/1, pp[36-7], memorandum of vestry meeting of 7 April 1831.



to have been quite prosperous; two other individuals each paid 10/- towards the cost of the viol and another three subscribers contributed 5/- each. (29)

Wealthy local people also bought instruments for the choirs; W. Spark, the Leeds organist, in his Lecture on Church Music... (published in 1851), referred to the squire of a village near Exeter purchasing a keyed bugle for the village church band. (30) In December 1832, Colonel John Hamilton bought a bassoon for the use of the Broomfield (Somerset) church band. (31)

Occasionally, instruments and other items for the church band were funded by a combination of donations from subscribers and money from the church rate. At Milford-on-Sea (Hampshire), a bassoon was purchased for the church band in 1776. Half of the cost was met by contributions from the parish priest and another individual. The remainder was provided from the church rate. (32) At West Chinnock (Somerset) a cello and four music books were purchased for the choir in 1831. The money came from a number of sources: the proceeds of the sale of an old cello belonging to the church, a grant from the church rate and public subscriptions. (33)

One rather unusual form of remuneration for church musicians is to be found in the parish register for Rodborough (Gloucestershire). This contains a set of articles dated January 22 1748, regulating the use of a 'singing seat' (probably a pew) in the church. The

(34) GRO P272 IN 1/1 [at back, reversed]. Temperley 1979, vol. 1 mentions the regulation concerning the use of the bassoon at Rodborough in his table 7 (p149), which gives evidence from parish church records of the use of instruments. Temperley (citing secondary sources) states that the bassoon was used in a gallery rather than in a 'singing seat'.

(35) MacDermott 1923, p45.

(36) Crosse Crosse 1917, p161.

document indicates that the churchwardens made the choir into proprietors of their pew. Article 6 states that the singers could sell their right to sit in the 'singing seat' and that places were to be heritable. A note at the foot of the document refers to a sale having taken place. The regulations bear signatures which signify the agreement of the choir, minister, churchwardens and 'Principle [sic] Inhabitants'. (34)

The evidence above relating to funding indicates that, in many areas, the church bands flourished with the approval of the clergy and other local notables in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. If these people had been indifferent or hostile, it is unlikely that the expenditure of part of the church rate on the expenses of the church band would have been sanctioned. Nor would there have been many donations from wealthy individuals.

There is other evidence that the church bands were encouraged by the clergy - many of whom were by no means ignorant of music. MacDermott states that the Rev. William Kinleside, rector of Angmering (Sussex) from 1776 to 1836, himself a keen musician, 'encouraged his church band in every way.' (35) The Rev. John Knight, rector of St. Petrock Stow in Devon in the early part of the nineteenth century, was apparently a fine bass viol player. He also seems to have been encouraging towards his church band. (36)

(37) Renouf 1986, p4.

(38) Woodforde 1978, p429, 'diary entry for 25 December 1792. There is evidence in Woodforde's diary that he had some knowledge of music - he attended concerts and musical evenings and bought music himself.

(39) Ibid., p455, diary entry for 23 February 1794.



There may have been a number of reasons for the financial assistance and encouragement afforded to the church bands by the clergy and others. Some clergymen enjoyed the church bandsmen's music. The Rev. Edward Murray, vicar of Stinsford in Dorset in the early nineteenth century, was a keen violinist who was fond of the music of the old choirs. He often practised with members of his church band. (37) James Woodforde was sometimes well pleased with the performances of his local church musicians. For instance, on 25 December 1792 he wrote that 'Weston Singers sung the Christmas Anthem this Morning at Church and very well indeed'. (38) On 23 February 1794, he recorded that 'Mattishall Singers were at Church and sung exceedingly well'. (39)

The encouragement of church bands and choirs in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries also may have come about through the weakness of the position of the established church. The Church of England's grip on rural communities was beginning to be challenged by the Nonconformists in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and music came to be recognised as an important element in the struggle for converts. No doubt, some clergymen were aware of the popularity of their musicians amongst the local community and considered that encouraging their church band was a means of preventing their parishioners from joining the Methodists.

Also, some of the alternative means of accompanying



(40) Temperley 1979, vol. 1, pp233-5.

(41) Ibid., p241.

singing were unsatisfactory. It would have been impossible for many country churches to afford to purchase an organ. Although barrel organs could accompany singing, they do not seem to have been widely used before the very end of the eighteenth century. (40) Also, it will be shown later that printed music was very expensive in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The old choirs provided music cheaply by copying and composing a large number of pieces in manuscript.

It was also recognised by a few clergymen that the church bands and choirs represented counter-attractions to the allegedly drunken and disorderly amusements of the common people. John Eden preached a sermon in 1822 in which, while recognising the need for some reform, he pointed out that membership of a choir was preferable to indulgence in some other amusements. (41)

### iii) Personnel

Gammon carried out research into the occupations of 67 country church musicians from Sussex. He found that they were drawn from a continuum of occupations which extended up the social scale from agricultural labourers to include some small landowners. However, Gammon considered that a large proportion of the old choirmen were artisans and that the choirs were therefore

- (42) Gammon 1981, pp65-6.
- (43) Galpin 1906, p101.
- (44) Ibid., p102.
- (45) Rev. Ashton Oxenden, quoted in BL Add. 47775A, p15.
- (46) See for example, Grandfather William's opposition to the Mellstock band boycotting the opening of the new organ, in which he quotes from scripture in insisting that the band are obliged to attend church. (Hardy 1985, p167.)

essentially plebeian in character. (42) Fragments of evidence convey a similar impression of the background of church bandsmen from other parts of southern England. Galpin stated that the Winterborne Abbas (Dorset) church band in the 1890s comprised a thatcher, a shepherd and a farm labourer. (43) In the early nineteenth century, the church band at Winterborne St. Martin (Dorset) was led by a mason and later by the village blacksmith. (44) The choir at Barham (Kent) in the 1830s included a blacksmith and a tailor. (45) The preponderance of artisans in the church choirs was possibly a reflection of the fact that, unlike ordinary farm labourers, (who were more likely to face periods of pauperism) they often had a little money to spare; this was sometimes necessary in order to pursue an interest in music. In addition, the artisan was more likely to be literate than the farm labourer and literacy was particularly important for vocal music.

Working men became church musicians for a number of reasons. Perhaps some of the members of the choirs possessed strong religious motivation similar to that shown by Grandfather William Dewy in Under the Greenwood Tree. (46) Others delighted in the sound of the music. James Nye, a Sussex church musician, underwent a conversion in about 1852, but realised that he was more aware of the music itself than its religious meaning. In his autobiography, A Small Account of my travels through the Willderness [sic] he wrote that 'there is somthing in



(47) SAS/[Nye MS]/[1], p[13]. See Gammon 1931, p65 for further details on Nye.

(48) Ibid., p67.

musick and singing which tutcheth so clean on my naturel Part that i cannot help being carred away with the sound insted of the substence'. [sic throughout] Nye feared that this was a form of idolatry. (47) Some working men may have enjoyed the opportunities for travel provided by the church bands and choirs. Gammon mentions that choirs often performed in other parishes. While most of these visits involved only short journeys, country church musicians were sometimes known to travel far afield; Gammon states that the Ditchling (near Brighton) choir went as far as Dorking in Surrey on one occasion. (48) Also, the status which was accorded to church musicians by village communities may have motivated some of the members of country church choirs. Some men may have been attracted by the remuneration available for the singers and instrumentalists in some parishes (see section ii)). However, the payments made to the choirmen were usually very small; the church bands and choirs were therefore essentially amateur.

Some of the church bandsmen may have possessed a very small degree of musical skill. La Trobe stated in 1831 that 'common parochial performers' were

(49) La Trobe 1831, pp86-7.

(50) This is also Gammon's opinion; see Gammon 1978, p21.

(51) Byrne 1964, p90.

Ignorant in many cases of the barest rudiments of music - singing and playing by the ear, as it is termed - untutored in time or in tune - not reading a note, or but imperfectly - confined in their skill to the narrow bounds of a few tasteless tunes, any person with the slightest exertion may assume to himself the office of their instructor. (49)

However, La Trobe was a hostile observer. The existence of large amounts of manuscript and printed music for the church bands indicates that at least some of the church bandsmen were musically literate. (50)

It was mentioned in Chapter 1 that some of the church bandsmen may have learned to read music and play instruments in the bands of the auxiliary forces. However, there is evidence that the church bands were themselves responsible for providing a grounding in music for working men. At first, there were two ways in which this was done. Some church bandsmen probably taught themselves, using instrumental tutor books, which were sometimes provided for them; an 'Introduction to the Bassoon' was ordered in 1783 with the instruments for the church band at Swalcliffe . (51) Some instruction in the rudiments of music was also often provided in the



(52) Temperley 1979, vol. 1, p179.

(53) DCM Box 1/2, p1r.

(54) DCM Box 2/2, [from back, reversed], pp1r-2v. Galpin 1393, p56 refers to a 'dictionary' of musical terms in a manuscript book belonging to the Winterborne Steepleton church bandsman, John Chapman.

(55) See Temperley op. cit., p179 et seq.. Hardy also refers to the activities of such individuals; see Hardy 1985, p4.

(56) BL Add. 47775A, p53, letter from Rev. H.H. Harvey to MacDermott, dated 6 July 1934.

prefaces to printed collections of church music. Temperley states that it is probable that little use was made of these. (52) However, the manuscript music books of eighteenth-century choirmen sometimes include information on the rudiments of music which has obviously been copied from some source or other. For instance, the first page of a manuscript music book dating from the late eighteenth century and belonging to William Rose of Langton Herring (Dorset) is headed 'The Gamute' [sic] and gives a great deal of musical information concerning the notes of the treble stave, time signatures and so on. (53) At the back of a manuscript book which belonged to another Dorset choirman, John Legg, at the very beginning of the nineteenth century, the first two pages are taken up with information on the notes of the treble stave and key and time signatures. (54)

Churches also paid for tuition for the choirmen. There were a number of travelling singing teachers, who earned a proportion of their livings by giving occasional lessons to local church choirs and selling music and other accessories to them. (55) The churchwardens at Clawton in Devon paid £2 for tuition (presumably from one of these men) for the church choir in 1791. (56)

Both of these methods of tuition persisted into the nineteenth century; Crosse Crosse mentions that, in about

- (57) Crosse Crosse 1917, p162.
- (58) Gammon 1978, p19.
- (59) Byrne 1964, pp90-1.
- (60) See GRO P103 CW2/1 [at back, reversed].
- (61) Langdon 1774, [title page].
- (62) SRO D/P/chin.w. 4/1/1, p[36], memorandum of vestry meeting held 7 April 1831.

the first half of the nineteenth century, one Mr. Winnacott was very active as a choir teacher in North Devon, being 'responsible for the training of twenty-one choirs in the district'. (57) Gammon suspects that the nineteenth-century Warnham church bandsman, Michael Turner, was self-taught and had picked up much musical knowledge from seventeenth-century instrumental tutor books. (58)

Thus, like the bands of the auxiliary forces, the church bands of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries helped to expand the number of working men who were musically literate and could play an instrument. The extent to which the old choirs assisted the development of wind instrument playing amongst the working class is dealt with in section v) of this chapter.

It should be noted that instrumental music-making was an extremely expensive activity in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The bassoon purchased in 1783 for use in Swalcliffe church (Oxfordshire) cost £5/5-. A reed for the instrument cost a further 1/2d. (59) The bass viol bought by public subscription at Cranham (Gloucestershire) in 1831 cost £4/3/-. (60) Music was also expensive; Richard Langdon's collection of psalms and anthems, Divine Harmony... (published in 1774) cost 15/-. (61) 4 music books, costing 13/6d each, were purchased for use at West Chinnoek (Somerset) in 1831. (62)



(63) Harrison 1984, p48.

(64) Hunt 1973, p14.

(65) See Ehrlich 1985, p6. I do not mean to suggest that there was no instrumental music-making at all amongst the lower classes in the towns and villages of early and mid-eighteenth century England; certainly, there is evidence that a few amateur instrumentalists were active at this time. For instance, the diary of Thomas Turner, the Sussex shopkeeper, refers to performances by wind and string players (probably local amateurs) taking place in the mid-eighteenth century. (See, for example, Turner 1985, p131, diary entry for Monday 23 January 1758.) However, I am arguing that widespread amateur instrumental music-making only developed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Normally, such items would have been beyond the means of most ordinary people; those who could afford them would have been able to do so only after saving hard and for a long time. In the early Victorian period, artisans' wages were usually between about 20 to 30 shillings per week, before outgoings on essentials such as food, clothes and rent. (63) Ordinary farm labourers fared worse; even after the value of payments in kind is taken into account, typical wages for labourers in the south-west in the mid-nineteenth century were only between 7 and 9 shillings per week. (64) Although it will be shown that some working men surmounted this difficulty by manufacturing their own instruments and music, many were unable to follow this course.

The development of widespread instrumental music-making amongst the working class therefore depended upon financial assistance of some kind. By providing access to instruments, music and tuition for working men, the church bands and the bands of the auxiliary forces of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were fulfilling a crucial enabling role, allowing working men to take part in a type of musical activity which had been largely the preserve of professional musicians and the more prosperous classes. (65)

Once the patronage provided by the church and the military was in place to promote and sustain the

(66) See MacDermott 1923, p29, which also refers to other families with long-lasting connections with their local church choirs. Sussex Archaeological Society possesses some of the Welch family manuscript books, which contain instrumental parts for secular and sacred music. See, for instance, SAS/[Welch MS]/[1].

(67) See, for instance, BL Add. 47775A, pp94-5 - letter to MacDermott from F. Haskell, dated July 1934. This states that, in his boyhood, Haskell had played piccolo in a chapel band in Verwood, Dorset. Later, Haskell became involved in other bands and, at the time he wrote the letter, was bandmaster of a band in Barnet - although he was 78 years old!

development of instrumental music, a widespread tradition of music-making began to develop among the working class. Families were often important in nurturing this tradition. It seems to have been expected in some families that each generation should become involved in music. In many cases, families developed a connection with music-making which was to continue for many years. For instance, the Welches of Bosham, Sussex, had a long association with their local church choir in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Some of the Welch family were instrumentalists. (66) It is also likely that families became important agencies for musical education; musical knowledge was probably handed down from one generation to another. There is a little evidence that, after the abolition of church bands, some of the old choirmen became members of secular bands (67) - just as members of military bands may have joined civilian organisations after leaving the bands of the auxiliary forces. No doubt, some civilian secular bands benefited from the skilled players released in this way. Chapter 3 also argues that some civilian secular bands existed contemporaneously with the church bands and those of the auxiliary forces and may have made use of players and facilities provided by the church and the military. However, it is likely that the role of the early bands in encouraging a tradition of working-class instrumental music was at least as important to the long-term



(68) La Trobe 1831, p114 et seq..

(69) Ibid., p77.

(70) See GRO D4764/2/1, which is a transcript of an agreement relating to the singing of psalms and anthems in Oldbury church, dated 1742. MacDermott 1923, p29 also refers to a register of the attendances of choirmen at Aldingbourne church (Sussex) for 1808.

(71) Ibid., p17 and p31.

(72) See ibid., p37 which mentions the use of the flute by some choirmasters 'as a rod for the castigation of small choir-boys when they misbehaved themselves'!

development of amateur banding.

#### iv) Organisation

It is not my intention to argue that the church bands and choirs were very formal organisations, or that a high level of discipline was expected from the choirmen. Indeed, the old choirs were criticised for being too informal and undisciplined. La Trobe condemned the 'irreverent' behaviour of the choirmen (68) and complained that the choirs often suffered from 'petty rivalries, bickerings, jealousies, disputes, dissensions, vain emulations...'. (69)

However, the old choirs sometimes expected certain minimum standards of discipline from their musicians. Choirmen were expected to attend regularly at rehearsals and on Sundays; in the mid-eighteenth century, the choir at Oldbury (Gloucestershire) agreed to meet regularly for rehearsals every Thursday evening and to sing for the services in church on Sunday morning or afternoon. Fines were imposed for non-attendance. (70) Some choirs insisted upon decorous behaviour while in church - particularly from the young. The rules governing the use of the gallery at Cuckfield church laid down rules for the conduct of children in the choir. (71) In some parishes, unruly behaviour by young people could also be summarily dealt with by the choir leader. (72)

(73) Temperley 1979, vol. 1, p197, Table 12.

v) Instruments

Temperley gives a table showing the instruments used by a large number of church bands in England during the period c. 1780-1898. (73) In the following table and its accompanying notes, I have given the instrumentation of a number of bands which are not included by Temperley.

Table 2.1: Composition of sample church bands, 1748-c.1860

	bands (see notes below)					
	A	B	C	D	E	F
bassoon	1	-	2	1	-	-
serpent	-	-	-	1	-	-
clarinet	-	-	3	1	1	-
oboe	-	1	-	1	-	-
flute	-	-	-	1	1	1
trombone	-	-	1	-	-	-
cornet	-	-	-	-	-	1
'cello	-	1	1	1	1	1
violin	-	-	-	2	1	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total players	1	2	7	8	4	4?



(74) GRO P272 IN 1/1 [reversed, at back], rules governing 'singing seat', dated 22 January 1748.

(75) Woodforde 1978, p455, diary entry for 23 February 1794.

(76) E. Sayers, quoted in MacDermott 1923, p25.

A) Rodborough (Gloucestershire), 1748

The regulations (mentioned above) relating to the 'singing seat' at Rodborough stipulated that only a bassoon was to be used there. (74) Of course, this rule may have been broken. This is the earliest reference I have found relating to the use of instruments in country churches in southern England.

B) Mattishall (Norfolk), 1794

On 23 February 1794, James Woodforde, rector of Weston Longville church in Norfolk, made the following entry in his diary: 'Mattishall Singers were at Church and sung exceedingly well, attended with a bass-Viol and an Hautboy'. (75)

C) West Tarring (Sussex), early 1830s

MacDermott reproduced Edward Sayers' account of church music at West Tarring which referred to the establishment of a church band in the early 1830s. The band described by Sayers was quite large and included a trombone, an instrument which was unusual in church bands. (76)

D) Whittlesford (Cambridgeshire), late 1830s

In 1878, the antiquary G.N. Maynard wrote about the history of Whittlesford church. He included his memories of the band which played in the church when he was a boy 'say 1838 and subsequently' which was 'somewhat similar

(77) CRO R 58/5/2, p16.

(78) J. Miles, quoted in MacDermott 1923, p56.

(79) Pearse Chope 1917, p200.

to this. viz 2 Voilins, one Bass Voilin, A Clarionet, A Bassoon a Serpent, a Hautboy and flute'[sic throughout].  
(77)

E) Findon (Sussex), 1848

MacDermott referred to the reminiscences of James Miles, of West Worthing, who stated that, when he was ten years old, (in 1848) he had played violin in Findon church. Miles also listed the other instruments of the church band. (78)

F) Stokenham (Devon), pre-1860

R. Pearse Chope wrote a short note in Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries in 1917 which gave Henry Bridgman's account of Stokenham church band. Bridgman stated that the four instruments mentioned in the table above were all played by members of the Randall family. He was unsure whether other instruments were involved. (79)

Using the above information, the table provided by Temperley, MacDermott's work on church bands, and one or two other sources, it is possible to form some conclusions about the instrumentation of church bands. From this, it may be possible to gauge the extent to which the old choirs were enabling working men to play wind band instruments.

(80) This seems to have been the case at Rodborough in 1748 - see Table 2.1. See also Temperley. 1979, vol. 1, p151.

(81) See *ibid.*, p197, table 12.

(82) *Ibid.*, loc. cit..



Until the late eighteenth century, the choirs did not make use of many instrumentalists. In a church where instruments were employed, it was rare for a choir to be accompanied by more than one or two bass instruments - usually 'cellos (known to contemporaries as 'bass viols') and bassoons. (80)

However, church bands tended to comprise larger numbers of instrumentalists from about the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Although some bands remained very small (for instance, the Mattishall band comprised two players) it became quite common for church bands to be composed of between four and six instrumentalists, as Temperley's table shows. (81) Some bands were even larger than this; Table 2.1 above shows that the bands at West Tarring and Whittlesford comprised seven and eight players respectively. Temperley's table shows that the church band at Chedworth was 12 strong in 1838. (82) The evidence of an increase in the average size of the church band by the end of the eighteenth century may be an indication that the old choirs benefited from increasing prosperity amongst the landed classes, who provided much of the finance for the old choirs. It could be a sign that the choirmen of some parishes were becoming more ambitious. It may also be an indication that the supply of skilled amateur instrumentalists was growing and could support larger bands.

(83) MacDermott 1923, pp91-2.

(84) MacDermott found only one example of the use of a horn in Sussex church bands. (Ibid., p91.)

(85) See, for example, Spark 1851, p23, which refers to the use of a keyed bugle at an unnamed church near Exeter.

(86) MacDermott found a newspaper cutting which implied that an ophicleide was used in Rockhampton church in 1850. (BL Add. 47775A, p81.)

(87) MacDermott op. cit., pp91-2.

(88) MacDermott found only 4 Sussex churches where serpents were used. (See ibid., loc. cit..)

(89) Ibid., p48.

(90) BL Add. 47775A, p35.

These later church bands often employed woodwind instruments; bassoons remained important as bass instruments. The flute, the clarinet and - to a lesser extent - the oboe were amongst the commonest treble instruments. MacDermott also found two churches in Sussex where a fife was used. (83)

However, brass instruments were much less common. The horn was very rarely employed by the choirmen. (84) There are only a few references to the use of the keyed bugle (85) and the ophicleide. (86) Some bands - such as the West Tarring band given in Table 2.1 - included trombones, but this was quite unusual. Trombones were only employed in 8 of the 111 churches mentioned in MacDermott's survey of old choirs in Sussex. (87) Probably the brass instrument which was most used by the church bandsmen was the cornet, (which formed part of the Stokenham band given in Table 2.1) although this was only available from about the mid-nineteenth century onwards. The serpent was sometimes found in church bands - the Whittlesford band mentioned in Table 2.1 had a serpent - but my impression is that it was probably even rarer than the trombone. (88) It was unusual for percussion to be used in country churches. A triangle was part of the Rustington (Sussex) church band in 1846. (89) A 'big drum' was apparently used in Bovey Tracey church in Devon. (90)

(91) Temperley 1979, vol. 1, p197, Table 12.

(92) See MacDermott 1923, pp91-2.

(93) Temperley op. cit., p198. See also Galpin 1906, p103.

While brass and percussion instruments were not used in many church bands, string instruments were very common. Table 2.1 above gives details of the instruments played by 25 church bandsmen of the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. 10 of these musicians (more than a third) were playing string instruments. At some churches - such as Souldrop (Bedfordshire) in 1856 - string instruments only were used. (91) Very many others - including 5 of the 6 bands in Table 2.1 - were mixed wind and string ensembles. The 'cello or 'bass viol' was probably the most popular bass instrument of any kind; it was used by five out of the six bands in Table 2.1. A few choirs included a double bass. (92) The violin was also employed in many churches; it was played in three of the bands given in Table 2.1.

Therefore, while the church bands may have been responsible for spreading musical literacy amongst the working class, the role of the old choirs in the development of amateur wind bands was somewhat restricted by the fact that many church bandsmen were string players. Also, very few of the choirmen were percussionists or brass instrumentalists.

Two other matters regarding instrumentation should be noted. Temperley has drawn attention to the paucity of references to instruments of middle compass in the records relating to church bands, (93) and it will be



(94) MacDermott 1923, p43.

(95) Galpin 1906, p102.

(96) BL Add. 47775A, p17 - letter from E. Horne to MacDermott, dated 8 July 1934.

(97) Galpin 1893, p32. The village wheelwright also repaired instruments.

noticed that there are no examples of instruments of this kind in Table 2.1 above. MacDermott found a french horn was used at Hailsham church in Sussex in the early nineteenth century. (94) Galpin stated that the church band at Abbotsbury (Dorset) included a 'tenor viol' or viola. (95) However, these cases were very unusual; the church bands tended to be polarised into treble and bass instruments.

Some church band instruments were 'home-made', probably in order to avoid the expense involved in purchasing instruments which had been commercially produced. E. Horne told MacDermott in 1934 that he remembered seeing the church band at Crowmarsh in the 1860s; he thought that the cello was 'of a very rough shape'. (96) Galpin refers to the village wheelwright of Martinstown (Dorset) constructing a bass viol which was used in local churches. (97)

#### vi) Repertoire

The music performed by the choirs in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries fell into a number of categories. First and most important, metrical psalms were performed. Metrical psalms came from two main sources: the 'Old Version' of the psalms, by Sternhold and Hopkins and others, first published in 1562; and the

- (98) Temperley 1979, vol. 1, p165.
- (99) SAS/ [Catsfield MS]/[2], pp15v-20v.
- (100) SAS/ [Catsfield MS]/[3], pp14v-17r.
- (101) Temperley op. cit., pp165-7.
- (102) See for instance, Spark 1851, pp22-3.
- (103) SAS/ [Catsfield MS]/[3], pp40v-41r.
- (104) A good example of such a collection is the music book of James Saunders, of Puddletown, Dorset. (DRO PE/PUD MI 1/[1].)

'New Version', by Tate and Brady, which appeared in 1696. Metrical psalms formed the mainstay of music in country churches until the nineteenth century, when they began to be displaced by hymns. A second category of music was the anthem; this was generally sung after the service, or sometimes between morning prayer and communion. Anthems were also written for performance during the celebration of communion. (98) Some anthems were designated for use on special occasions such as Easter or Christmas or for celebration of national successes; the music books of the choir at Catsfield, Sussex, include an Anthem The 3<sup>rd</sup> For Thanksgiving After A victory (99) and an Anthem, for Easter Day (Colossians Chap<sup>t</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup>). (100) Temperley has pointed out that some pieces described as 'anthems' were actually 'set pieces' - through-composed settings of the texts of metrical psalms or of original hymns. (101) Choral settings of the canticles in the morning and evening service were often sung by the choir. (102) I have also found references to the singing of the collects; the music books of the choir at Catsfield, Sussex, contain a setting of A Collect, for 7<sup>th</sup> Sunday after Trinity. (103) Collections of carols, which were used when the choirs toured their localities at Christmas, also survive. (104)

The choir established a fair degree of control over the music performed in many parish churches in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In some

(105) MacDermott 1923, p8. MacDermott gives no date for this incident.



churches, the choir seems to have had a free hand in choosing the music; the Mellstock choir's comments about Mr. Grinham, their old vicar, have been mentioned already. Sometimes, control over the music was used to influence the shape of the service itself. MacDermott relates the following interesting anecdote concerning the choir at Aldingbourne in Sussex. A new vicar was appointed who stated that he wished to preach a sermon during Matins. On the first Sunday that he went into the pulpit to preach, the choir, unwilling to hear the sermon, began to sing the 119th Psalm. They carried on singing, despite the vicar's protestations. Eventually, the vicar, who had to take a service at Oving in the afternoon, was compelled to abandon the sermon because he had run out of time. (105)

However, unlike Hardy's Mr. Grinham, some clergymen sought to control the music performed by their choirs. At Haresfield in Gloucestershire, a vestry meeting of 1821 agreed that a payment of £1 per quarter be made to the choir. This was to be made from the church rate. The vicar, Thomas Rudge, agreed to contribute to the payment to the choir, although he was not liable to pay church rate. The members of the choir were only to receive the money if they observed the following conditions:

(106) GRO P163 VE2/1, minutes of vestry meeting of 25 October 1821. Galpin 1893, p56 also stated that the Winterborne Abbas band were no longer allowed to play the old psalm tunes in church 'owing to the frequent repetition of words and whole lines'.

(107) See MacDermott 1923, pp58-90, which refers to a number of printed music books in the possession of Sussex churches.

(108) Temperley 1979, vol. 1, pp162-4; see also *ibid.*, pp190-1, which states that psalmody for country choirs represents one of the largest categories of eighteenth-century published music.

Not to sing any hymns but the morning hymn, Awake my voice & c before morning service begins - and the evening hymn Glory to thee my God & c after the Sermon in the evening - also the Christmas and Easter hymns at the proper seasons - and an anthem occasionally - And no other psalms but what are taken from the old version by Sternhold and Hopkins and the New Version by Brady and Tate. (106)

Some choirs used printed music books. (107) The printed music they used came from two sources. At first, collections of church music were produced by London professional musicians. Later, self-educated country singing teachers also brought out their own collections of music. These contained original items by themselves as well as adaptations of pieces published by London professionals. A great deal of printed music was produced for country church choirs in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; this is evidence that music publishers were aware that the old choirs - like the bands of the auxiliary forces - represented a large and potentially profitable market. (108)

However, choirs often avoided the large expenditure which was required in order to equip themselves with printed music for all their members. One tactic was to

(109) See Hardy 1985, p4 - he stated that the choirmen's music was 'all in their own manuscript, copied in the evenings after work'.

(110) Galpin 1893, p32.

(111) Spark 1851, p22.

(112) Temperley 1979, vol. 1, pp191-6.



secure a single copy of a particular piece of published music and transcribe all the parts that were necessary into manuscript books. (109) A second course of action was for members of choirs and bands to compose music themselves. For example, Samuel French (a tailor) was a flautist in the church band at Winterborne Steepleton in the nineteenth century. He was also a prolific composer. (110) There are many other instances of the choir men producing their own music. Writing in 1851, the Leeds organist William Spark stated that 'Almost every musical tyro in the kingdom seems to have tried his hand at making services'. (111) Probably these amateur composers were largely self-taught, although some may have obtained some advice from travelling singing teachers.

The importance of self-taught musicians in the production of much of the music played by church bands and choirs (and the fact that many of the manuscript copies made by the choir men may have contained a number of errors) may explain why many of the pieces composed for use in country churches attracted the criticism of professional musicians. Many of the country psalmodists did not have the opportunities to obtain a thorough grounding in techniques of composition and therefore had a style quite different to that of their professional contemporaries with regard to harmony, melody, rhythm and word setting. (112) However, while the music of the choir men may be unconventional, it is nevertheless



(113) See Temperley 1979, vol. 1, p194.

(114) Spark 1851, p35.

(\*) It should be noted that the views of the old way of singing given here are those of nineteenth-century commentators and are not necessarily shared by the author.

(115) See Temperley *op. cit.*, pp173-6.

testimony to the fact that a number of working men in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries possessed quite considerable musical knowledge.

Although some of the tunes used by the choirmen - such as Luther's Hymn or Old Hundredth - were seen as well-adapted for congregational singing, many others were not. Melodies often featured long melismas. (113) Pieces often made use of a great deal of ornamentation. Spark claimed that psalm tunes 'full of grace notes, turns, shakes, and flourishes' were still popular in 1851. (114)

The ornateness of the choirmen's music also attracted criticism because it drew the listener's attention away from the words. 'Fuging tunes', which were very popular in country churches from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, were also attacked for obscuring the texts set by country psalmodists; in the fuging tune, the voices entered successively in such a way that different parts of the text were being sung at the same time. (\*) Usually, the entries were imitative, using similar musical phrases and similar phrases of text. (115)

In the music of the old choirs, the instrumentalists had few opportunities to perform independently of the singers. Their main function was to double the several vocal lines and assist the singers in pitching their music. The method of doubling the vocal lines explains why the church bands tended to be polarised into treble and bass instruments. The bass part was usually doubled

(116) Temperley 1979, vol. 1, p199:

(117) Galpin 1906, p102.

(118) Galpin 1893, p32.

at pitch, or at the octave below. The treble was doubled at pitch. The inner parts - the alto and the tenor - tended to be doubled an octave higher by treble instruments. (116) Galpin stated that the church band at Winterborne St. Martin included in 1820 a 'hautboy for the tenor (playing an octave above the voice)'. (117) In the early 1890s, Galpin heard the Winterborne Abbas church band and later gave a description of their method of doubling the voice parts in a psalm tune:

for the first verse the trio of musicians divided itself thus, the clarinet played the air, [treble] the flute the tenor (an octave above the voice) and the violincello the bass... in the second verse the clarinet proceeded to play the alto an octave higher, so for the remainder of the Psalm we were in this order, alto (8ve higher), tenor (8ve higher), air, bass, an arrangement which apparently did not distress the performers or disconcert the singers. (118)

The doubling of the tenor line an octave higher may have been because the tenor remained the leading voice in country church music and was generally given the melody line. (This was another respect in which country psalmodists did not follow developments in contemporary

(119) Temperley 1979, vol. 1, p184 et seq.. See also *ibid.*, p198.

(120) *Ibid.*, p199.

(121) See Galpin 1893, p32. Extracts from a letter from Canon John Shearme were printed in Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries in vol. IX (1917), pp200-202. Shearme may have been referring to the practice of 'sounding off the tune' when he stated that when the hymn was given out at Stratton church (Devon), 'the chord was sounded by the instruments, [of the church band] the clarionet or flute leading'.



'art' music, where the tenor had been replaced by the treble as the leading voice.) As the tenor had the most prominent part of the music, it was easiest to learn, and inexperienced trebles would, therefore, often sing the tenor part an octave higher. By playing the tenor line up an octave, the instrumentalists were assisting this. (119)

It was less common for church bandsmen to have to play parts which were independent of the vocal lines. Temperley states that no more than ten per cent of published music for country choirs included independent instrumental parts (often marked 'sym' or 'symphony' in the music). (120) Sometimes, the instrumentalists were only called upon to provide a very short introduction to a piece, perhaps only a few notes. Galpin noticed this practice at Winterborne Abbas; he stated that it was known as 'sounding off the tune'. At the beginning of each psalm, the Winterborne Abbas band did not play through the tune as an introduction. Instead, they played a phrase which, Galpin stated, was 'based evidently on the watchman's refrain, "Past three o'clock"'. This phrase was played in the key of the psalm which was to follow and was subject to some variation. (121) In some churches, there was a longer introduction; the tune was played through by one or more instruments before the singing commenced. La Trobe, describing a typical church band performance, mentioned the clarinet playing through

(122) La Trobe 1831, p88.

(123) SAS/[Catsfield MS]/[2], p9v & r. The book has the date 1840 inside the cover. The instruments in use at Catsfield included 2 violins, at least one flute and a bassoon. The first item in this book requires 'Vio:1' and 'Vio:2'. (Ibid., plr.) Another piece calls for a bassoon. (Ibid., p22v.) MacDermott was told by Herbert Blackman (in a letter dated 18 March 1922) that his father (born 1812) and brother played the flute at Catsfield. (SAS/[MacDermott MS] vol. I, p274.)



the tune as an introduction for the singers. (122) In a few cases, instrumental introductions amounted to more than just 'sounding off' or playing through the tune. Some pieces began with quite long instrumental passages, sometimes in three or four parts. For instance, The Magnificat in a manuscript book used by the Catsfield choir around 1840 has the following instrumental introduction:

Example 2.1: Introduction to The Magnificat (Catsfield MS) (123)





The church bands also played instrumental interludes, often at the ends of the verses of psalms. Example 2.2 gives the interlude between the verses of Psalm 61 N.V., again from the manuscript books of the Catsfield choir.

(124) SAS/[Catsfield MS]/[4], p16r..

(125) Temperley 1979, vol. 1, p199.



Example 2.2: Instrumental interlude between verses of  
Psalm 61 N.V. (Catsfield MS) (124)

The image shows a musical score for an instrumental interlude. It consists of four staves. The first two staves are grouped by a bracket on the left and are in 3/2 time. The last two staves are also grouped by a bracket on the left and are in 3/2 time. The first two staves are marked 'fort' and 'Syn'. The last two staves are marked 'fort' and 'Syn'.

There are a few examples of the use of instruments to provide accompaniments which are independent of the voices; Temperley states that instrumental obbligati are sometimes found. (125) However, most independent instrumental accompaniments provide a bass line to solos or duets, as in Example 2.3 below, the opening bars of a Nunc Dimittis which is in one of the manuscript books of the Catsfield choir:

(126) SAS/[Catsfield MS]/[2], p20v<sup>2</sup>

Example 2.3: Opening of Nunc Dimittis (Catsfield MS)  
(126)

*Nunc Dimittis.*

*Treble Solo*

now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace according to thy  
word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.

While the instrumentalists in church choirs played a largely subordinate part, the bandsmens' presence in church each Sunday meant that, like the bands of the auxiliary forces, church bands were causing churchgoers to become used to listening to amateur instrumentalists, many of whom were wind players. The fierce opposition which the reform of the old choirs provoked suggests that the church bands had become very popular and that they had succeeded in creating considerable enthusiasm for instrumental music amongst the people of their localities. This enthusiasm was to be important in the expansion of banding in the late nineteenth century.



vii) Reform

In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, there was increasing criticism of the old-style church bands and choirs. Among the most prominent of the critics was J.A. La Trobe, whose influential The Music of the Church... was published in 1831. Another important opponent of the choirmen was Robert Druitt, a Tractarian doctor, who was to become editor of The Parish Choir. The Parish Choir was published between 1846 and 1851 by the Society for Promoting Church Music, an organisation dedicated to the abolition of the old choirs. By the 1840s, the process of reforming the old-style church bands and choirs was gathering momentum. By 1870, very few of them were still in existence, although a few lingered on until the last decade of the century in the south-west. The church music in many churches came to be accompanied by an organ, barrel organ or harmonium. The reformed choir, consisting of schoolchildren or trained adults, was often led by the village schoolteacher or the clergyman's wife or daughter.

However, the reforms were sometimes accomplished in the face of strong opposition from local people. Gammon has described this resistance to the changes in church music; those who assisted in an incumbent's scheme for musical reform were boycotted or even attacked; parishioners defected to the Nonconformists;

(127) Gammon 1981, pp77-80.



demonstrations were organised. At Little Walsingham in Norfolk, dissatisfaction over church music and other matters led to the blowing up of the organ at Walsingham church in 1866. (127) The ferocity of the opposition to reform underlines how important the old choirs had become to their members and to the people of their localities. It also suggests that the reform of the church bands was largely imposed from 'above' by the clergy. Why did attitudes change, so that the established church was no longer tolerant or even encouraging towards the church bands?

Chapter 4 will show that 'rational recreations' were being encouraged by some commentators in the mid-nineteenth century. In part, these recreations were intended to tighten controls over the working class at a time when social tensions were heightened by enclosure, urbanisation and industrialisation. 'Rational recreations' would lessen these social tensions by their 'improving' effect upon working people; these activities would make them more 'respectable', particularly as it was intended that 'rational recreations' would serve as counterattractions to allegedly brutish and disreputable amusements.

It will be seen that many of the objections to the old choirs were inspired by desires for the general revitalisation of the established church in the nineteenth century. However, the opposition to the choirmen should

(128) Druitt 1845, p56.

(129) See, for instance, La Trobe 1831, p77.

(130) Ibid., p119.

(131) Ibid., p123.

also be seen as part of the contemporary campaign for the moral 'improvement' of the working class. Druitt, refusing to entertain the idea that there should be no changes in church music, wrote:

is the condition of the masses, as they are called, what the politician and the moralist, or the religious man would desire? Do we hear no complaints about vice, ignorance, and ingratitude of the lower orders; of their miserable poverty, increased tenfold (in great towns) by their own recklessness and improvidence? (128)

The old choirs were criticised because they allegedly accepted and even promoted immorality among their members. (129) According to La Trobe, the danger of impropriety was increased because of the mixing of the sexes in some choirs. 'The association of idle, thoughtless, and wanton characters of both sexes...' La Trobe wrote, 'can only afford a temptation to flightiness and folly, not to say, vice and immorality'. (130) Also, the secular associations of some of the choirmen's music were seen as potentially corrupting; La Trobe complained that this 'music... serves only to draw the most carnal strains from their dens of impurity into the hallowed house of prayer'. (131) The allegedly sinful behaviour of the choirmen was worse

(132) See La Trobe 1831, p77.

(133) Druitt 1845, p62.

(134) La Trobe op. cit., p96.

(135) Ibid., p134.

(136) Druitt op. cit., p37.



because many clergymen took no part in the running of their choirs and therefore could exercise no restraining influence. (132)

The prescriptions of the reformers of church music were similar in some respects to those of the enthusiasts of 'rational recreation'. They aimed to replace the old church bands and choirs with a type of church music which exercised a strong and many-faceted moral influence over those with whom it came into contact. The reformed choirs would be under the supervision of the clergy, who could use their involvement in church music to break down barriers with their parishioners and perform their pastoral work more effectively. (133) It was envisaged that the moral welfare of the choir would be paramount. La Trobe stated that the clergy should be ruthless in expelling those choristers who persisted in immorality, whatever their musical attainments. (134)

La Trobe stated that the music performed by the choirs should be quite different from the music performed in a secular context; he wrote that church music should have 'a character of its own' which had no 'vain and idle associations'. (135) Druitt held a similar opinion, arguing that older church music was best because it could 'bring to our recollection none of the pomps and vanities of the outer world'. (136) However, other churchmen were less concerned with eradicating the 'secular' in church music. Evangelicals and low churchmen were allowing the



- (137) See Temperley 1979, vol. 1, p242.
- (138) La Trobe 1831, p139.
- (139) Druitt 1845, p38.
- (140) La Trobe op. cit., pp213-9.
- (141) [Druitt] 1853, pp24-5.
- (142) See Temperley op. cit., pp207-223.

use of a number of hymns which made use of secular influences. (137)

Druitt and La Trobe, like earlier reformers of church music, advocated a type of church music which would allow more scope for congregational involvement. Both intended that the music used in church should be secondary and should not prevent the hearer's understanding of the texts set. La Trobe stated that church music should avoid 'whatever serves to pervert the sense of the words'. (138) For Druitt, this meant that, in church music, 'all superadded embellishment, any phrase introduced for mere effect, should be rigorously excluded'. (139) Also, Druitt and La Trobe stated that the congregation should take an active part in church music; La Trobe wrote that psalms or hymns should be easy enough to encourage congregational participation. (140) Druitt advocated the chanting of the liturgy by the congregation. For him, the congregation's part in church music was particularly important; the choir's role was not essential. (141) Like Druitt and La Trobe, other sections of the church - such as the Evangelicals - were also in favour of congregational singing, particularly hymn-singing. (142)

Congregational singing did not merely assist the congregation's involvement in and understanding of church music and its accompanying allegedly uplifting text; it assisted in the moral work of the church in other ways. A less vicarious form of psalmody was intended to be less

(143) See La Trobe 1831, p209.

(144) Ibid., pp419-420.

tedious and therefore more effective in drawing congregations to church. (143)

In addition to 'improving' the character of working people, the church music envisaged by the reformers had a further similarity with contemporary 'rational recreations'; it was intended to serve as a counterattraction which would draw working people away from less desirable activities; La Trobe stated that the practice of church music would 'serve to employ moments, otherwise spent in idleness or debauchery'. (144)

However, as indicated above, church bands were not only opposed because they failed to contribute to social control; their critics (and the prescriptions of the critics) were also influenced by the desire present in the mid-nineteenth century for the reform and revitalisation of the established church. It is notable that the abolition of the church bands began at roughly the same time as the appearance of the Oxford movement in the 1830s and that Druitt, one of the leading opponents of the old choirs, was a Tractarian. The demands for the end of the musical latitude allowed to the choirmen were in harmony with, and aided by, the contemporary campaign against absenteeism and clerical negligence. The replacement of the vicarious psalmody of the choirmen by congregational hymn-singing may, in parishes run by Evangelicals, have been influenced by a concern to promote the spontaneity and involvement which, it was claimed, had been lost by

(145) See Temperley 1979, vol. 1, p205 et seq., for his description of Evangelical attitudes to church music.

(146) See Druitt 1845, pp57-8 and [Druitt] 1853, pp12-19. See also Temperley op. cit., p249 et seq. for an account of Tractarian views on church music.



the church. (145) Druitt's prescriptions for church music bear signs of the Tractarian emphasis on such themes as authority, tradition and corporate identity. His advocacy of the clergy taking a part in their church music was probably influenced as much by his desire to ensure that the authority of the priesthood over the church and its music was maintained as by his recognition of the value of social mixing. His support for the congregation chanting the liturgy was not simply an attempt to draw more of the working classes to church and involve them more in the music; Druitt was also trying to re-establish a form of music which had been important long before the Reformation and to restore the vitality and sense of community of the church. (146)

Opposition to the old choirs was thus compounded of a desire to reform and revitalise the established church and a wish to promote the moral improvement of the working class. Its success in gaining the support of the clergy for changes in church music was partly the result of the vigorous campaign waged by La Trobe, Druitt and the Society for Promoting Church Music.

The reform of the old choirs was also facilitated because it was becoming increasingly easy for an incumbent to provide an alternative form of church music. By the early nineteenth century, barrel organs were widely available to provide accompaniment to the singing. According to Temperley, these became the usual replacement

- (147) Temperley 1979, vol. 1, p235.
- (148) Ibid., p310.
- (149) See Rainbow 1967, pp124-155.
- (150) Temperley op. cit., p297.
- (151) Ibid., p299.
- (152) See ibid., p248 and pp286-7.

for bands in country churches. (147) Cheap organs and harmoniums also became available in the middle of the century and these were to become the standard form of musical accompaniment for church services by the end of the Victorian period. (148) As a result of the work of singing teachers such as Hullah and particularly Curwen, a number of schoolteachers were becoming conversant with the solfa method for teaching singing to their pupils. This soon led to an increase in the amount of musical education. (149) The pupils and teacher at the village school were to become an alternative source of musical expertise to the old choirs. In addition, a great deal of published music became available at prices which rural parishes could afford. The reduction (1836) and later abolition (1861) of the duties on paper made music cheaper. The use of movable type music printing methods by Novello from the 1840s was a further influence on the availability of cheap music. Hymn books were mass-produced; Hymns ancient and modern (first published 1861) was to sell at a rate of half a million copies a year (150) and achieve a dominant position in rural church music. (151) The Parish Choir produced free music supplements, as did The Musical Times. (152)

The mid-nineteenth century also provided incumbents with opportunities for reforming their church music. The restoration and extension of many parish churches took place; this gave the reforming clergyman a chance to

(153) Chadwick 1966, vol. II, pp195-6.

(154) Ibid., p199.

(155) BL Add. 47775A, p35.



remove the west gallery where the old singers often sat. It was also an opportunity for the creation of choir stalls in the chancel as a location for a surpliced choir. The abolition of the church rate in 1868 removed an important source of funding for church bands. Although some churches continued to levy a 'voluntary' church rate, most parishes became dependent upon subscriptions and collections as a means of support. (153) This meant that the control of the detail of parish expenditure passed from the vestry into the hands of the incumbent. Chadwick, the historian of the Victorian church, has written that the abolition of the church rate made the clergyman 'a more personal and powerful ruler within his church'. (154) The incumbent was therefore in a position which made it straightforward for him to cut off funds to the choir.

Although most of the church bands had been replaced by about 1870, they were to persist in some parts of the country until the last decade of the century. Some remote parishes lacked the financial or human resources to replace the old choirs. In one case - at Brent Tor in Cornwall - it was not feasible to install an organ because the church was very damp; a violin was therefore used to accompany services. (155) Also, while the old-style choirs had ceased to exist by the end of the century, a few late nineteenth-century churches did employ groups of



(156) BL Add. 47775A, p101, which refers to MacDermott's interview with Henry Everest, who was one of the members of the band.

(157) See Hillsman 1988.

instrumentalists for special occasions, although these ensembles were rather different from the old church bands. At Chiddingstone, Kent, a brass quartet consisting of a cornet, two baritones and a euphonium was sometimes used in church services between about 1875 and 1899. (156) Small orchestras were even employed occasionally in prosperous urban parishes; high churchmen used them to accompany masses by composers such as Schubert or Gounod. Ambitious choirmasters sometimes made use of orchestras in performances of abridged oratorios or cantatas. (157)

### CHAPTER 3: SECULAR CIVILIAN WIND BANDS

- i) Introduction
- ii) Funding
- iii) Personnel
- iv) Organisation
- v) Instruments
- vi) Repertoire

(1) Woodforde 1978, p357, diary entry for 4 August 1789. I have found one or two other late eighteenth-century references to what may have been wind bands; for instance, Weir quotes from a poem (The Village Fair) by James Hurdis (1763-1801) which refers to the 'groaning horn and twanking trumpet'. (See Weir 1981, p8.)

(2) See Gloucester Journal : Monday 13 November 1820, p[3]; Monday 20 November 1820, p[3]; Monday 27 November 1820, p[3]; Monday 4 December 1820, p[3]. Bands were present at Gloucester, Stroud, Minchinhampton, Tetbury, Newent, Newland, Frampton-on-Severn, Little Dean, Blakeney, Ruardean, Coleford and Marshfield. It is possible that some of these included string instruments.

(3) See The West Briton, Friday 30 June 1837, p[2]; Friday 21 July 1837, p[4]; Friday 28 July 1837, p[4]. Bands of one sort or another were present at Truro, East Looe, Helston, Falmouth, Penryn, Penzance, Hayle, Chacewater and St. Agnes.

### CHAPTER 3: SECULAR CIVILIAN WIND BANDS

#### i) Introduction

There is evidence that a number of secular civilian wind bands were operating in southern England in the late eighteenth century. On 4 August 1789, James Woodforde recorded his impressions of a royal visit to Sherborne, an event at which wind bands may have been present. The royal family were met by 'The two Clubbs of Sherborne... with Musick preceding them and colours flying'. (1) However, there is a greater amount of evidence concerning the activities of such bands in the early nineteenth century. In 1820, the Gloucester Journal carried a number of reports of the rejoicing in Gloucestershire which followed the defeat of the Pains and Penalties Bill against the Queen. Bands were present at the celebrations in at least 12 places. (2) In 1837, The West Briton's reports of the proclamation in Cornwall of Queen Victoria's accession referred to the presence of bands at the festivities at 9 locations in the county. (3)

#### ii) Funding

It is not clear how these civilian secular wind bands were funded. Russell, in his thesis on popular music in the West Riding of Yorkshire, wondered how the members of



(4) Russell 1980, p38.

early civilian wind bands obtained their instruments. He suggested that some instruments may have been bought using an early form of hire purchase. Others may have been home-made. Instruments may also have been abandoned by itinerant musicians or brought home by demobilised soldiers. (4) I have found no evidence of bands making hire purchase arrangements during this period, although such transactions may have taken place. Chapter 2 has shown that some instruments may have been home-made, although I suspect that only a few men had the skill or the tools necessary to manufacture their own instruments. I have found no evidence of bands using instruments abandoned by itinerant musicians or brought home by demobilised soldiers, although this may have happened in a few cases.

It is possible that civilian secular bands acquired instruments and music in a number of other ways. Some bandsmen may have purchased their own instruments and music. However, section iii) of this chapter will show that most bandsmen were working men; it would have been difficult for many of them to afford to pay for their own instruments and music, particularly as these items were very expensive in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is therefore likely that many civilian secular bands relied upon some kind of financial assistance.

- (5) Smith/[1], p16.
- (6) Gloucester Journal, Monday 23 July 1821, p[3].
- (7) Russell 1987, p168.
- (8) See Scott 1970, pp18-19.
- (9) See Hudson 1965, p21 et seq..

I have found only two references to bands which may have been receiving support from industrial concerns. In the late 1830s or early 1840s, the Witney band received basic instruction from Mark Tallboys, 'who had for many years past taken part in a select Band that was well known as "Mr. William Early's"'. (5) The Early family owned a mill in Witney. During the celebrations on the occasion of the coronation of George IV in 1821, a band played for a feast for the workers at W. and P. Playne and Co.'s factory at Minchinhampton in Gloucestershire. (6) Of course, the band may not have been a works band. However, it is possible that the role of bands sponsored by industrial concerns was greater than the sources suggest; Russell stated in his Popular music in England that the name of a band is not necessarily a guide to its affiliations - or lack of affiliations - to industry. (7)

The apparent absence of industrial patronage for bands in southern England was in contrast to the situation elsewhere; from about 1820, a number of bands in the north and midlands were receiving support from industrial concerns such as Strutt's or the London Lead Company. (8) Many of the old-established industries of southern England were in decline by the early nineteenth century, often as the result of competition from the north. (9) Also, many areas of the south were to avoid direct experience of industrialisation. This was particularly true of parts

(10) See Mingay 1981, p11.

(11) Albery 1944, p314. Albery was in a position to know something about the history of bands. A bandmaster himself, he also had a keen interest in history and had edited the recollections of the Sussex musician, Henry Burstow.

(12) Ibid., loc. cit..

(13) Punch, vol. IX (1845), p244.



of Wiltshire, Norfolk, Sussex, Kent, Devon and Dorset.

(10) For these two reasons, industrial patronage for bands in southern England was probably lacking.

William Albery, writing about old bands in Sussex, stated that 'a few shopkeepers "took a hand" in them with subscriptions and supported them in other ways'. (11) Albery also wrote that money was provided by 'neighbouring and neighbourly gentry, collected by "busking" for a month or so at Christmas time'. (12) If the latter comment by Albery is correct, it could be that part of the 'nuisance' caused by bands playing in the streets at Christmas was created by English working men rather than foreigners such as the Germans. An article on street music, published in Punch in 1845, seems to confirm this impression:

the lovers of midnight harmony may expect a rich treat during the ensuing Christmas. Balfe's Marble Halls, arranged by Jones for three trombones and a piccolo, will be among the earliest novelties... Timkins, of ophicleide celebrity, intends devoting his energies to the preparation of a few classical solos for serious neighbourhoods. (13)

(14) See, for example, SAS/[Welch MS]/[1].

(15) Galpin 1906, p102. The two players were 'Uncle James' and John Norman.

(16) [Eagles] 1837, pp481-2.

(17) Ibid., p481.

(18) Quoted in BL Add. 47775A, p79.

Some bandsmen may have obtained access to instruments as the result of their association with the church bands or the bands of the auxiliary forces. There is certainly evidence that the bandsmen of the auxiliary forces and the members of the old church choirs played in secular civilian bands of one sort or another. It has already been mentioned in Chapter 1 that the bandmaster of the Cambridgeshire militia was disciplined for taking on unauthorised engagements outside his regimental duties. The manuscript books of church bandsmen contain numerous secular pieces. (14) Galpin mentions that two leaders of the Winterborne St. Martin church band in the early nineteenth century also played in the village band. (15) John Eagles, writing in 1837, described what seems to have been a wind band at a typical parish club meeting. (16) He stated that 'On these occasions, there is a junction of parish bands'. (17) C.J. Farmer wrote to K.H. MacDermott about his father's recollections of the church band at Broughton, in probably the first half of the nineteenth century. He mentioned that 'Besides playing in the Church it attended the Club feasts'. (18)

There are also indications that the instruments provided by the church were also employed on secular occasions. Conditions were sometimes laid down regarding the safekeeping and use of church band instruments, which were designed to prevent them from

- (19) GRO P103 CW2/1 [at back, reversed].
- (20) GRO P15 CW2/1 [at front, pasted in].
- (21) Temperley 1979, vol. 1, p149. Temperley gives the name of the church as 'Youlgrave'; this may be a misspelling.
- (22) See for example, Taylor 1979, pp16-17.



being used outside the church. A memorandum in the churchwardens' accounts for Cranham, Gloucestershire, referring to a bass viol bought for the choir in 1831, states that it was 'to be Considered as the Property of the Parish, and to be kept in the Rectory house under the Controul [sic] of the Minister and Churchwardens'. (19) A memorandum in the churchwardens' accounts for Ampney Crucis (also in Gloucestershire) states that the bass viol purchased in about 1787 was 'for the use of the Choir only'. (20) In other parts of England it was envisaged that the instruments of the church band would be used outside church in some circumstances; at Youlgreave in Derbyshire the church band's bass viol was not allowed to be used outside the church, except when it was played at local club feasts. (21)

Some accounts of the history of wind bands in England state that civilian secular wind bands were formed from members of disbanded church and military bands who wished to pursue their interest in music. (22) It is probable that some of the members of church or military bands joined secular civilian bands when their own bands ceased to exist. However, if the observations given above are correct, civilian secular bands were not just the successors of the military and church bands; they sometimes existed contemporaneously with them and depended on them. The funding often provided by the wealthier



(23) Burstow 1975, p44. Burstow's information on the Horsham band in the 1830s and 1840s is important because he was an eyewitness. Burstow's account is also useful because it contains much more detail than many other sources relating to this period. However, it should be remembered that Burstow was a child in the 1830s and that his Reminiscences were only written many years later.

(24) Ibid., p50.

(25) Gammon 1986, p123.

members of society for the church and military bands was not just enabling working men to play instrumental music in church or in the bands associated with the auxiliary forces of the army. It was also supporting - perhaps unwittingly - secular and civilian music-making.

The evidence of attempts to prevent the use of the equipment of church bands in a secular context may indicate that there was some opposition to the secular bands from the clergy and, perhaps, from other prominent members of local society. This opposition may have arisen as the result of qualms about the associations of bands with some of the more disreputable aspects of popular culture. There is evidence of the association of bands with drinking and the brewers; Henry Burstow's memoirs included his reminiscences of the Horsham band playing in 1838 at the celebrations which marked the coronation of Queen Victoria: 'the old Town Band played and drank, and drank and played again'. (23) The bass drummer of the band in the late 1830s was Ike Aldridge, who, according to Burstow, 'sought inspiration in an extra glass or two' at band performances. (24) Gammon relates the story of one band's association with the brewing interest. In 1838, the brewers of Uckfield in Sussex hired a band to disrupt a temperance meeting. The band played O Dear What Can The Matter Be? and The Rogues' March. (25) Also, Alun Howkins,

(26) See Howkins 1973, pp1-19.

(27) BRO W AC 1/1/3, pp111r-112v, minutes of Court of  
Common Council for 11 October 1809.

in his Whitsun in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Oxfordshire, has shown that bands performed at the often disorderly old-style Whitsun celebrations which persisted in rural Oxfordshire until the mid-nineteenth century. (26)

Although secular civilian bands may have been unwittingly or reluctantly financed by some of the wealthier classes, there is nevertheless evidence that these bands were also actively supported by the more prosperous members of society. It will be recalled that Albery mentioned that some of the 'neighbouring and neighbourly gentry' and shopkeepers were prepared to make donations to bands.

Secular civilian bands may have attracted support from the wealthier classes for a number of reasons. Like the church bands, these bands were prominent local institutions which could therefore expect donations from local notables. Also, secular civilian wind bands may have been encouraged in order to provide music for the upper and middle classes' own consumption. Secular wind bands often played at events organised or attended by the wealthier members of society. In 1809, it was decided that the Wallingford band should be requested to accompany the town corporation to church during the celebrations of the golden jubilee of George III. (27) Henry Burstow's father told him of the coming-of-age celebrations for Robert Aldridge of St. Leonard's Forest, which took place in

- (28) Burstow 1975, p46,
- (29) Gloucester Journal, 7 August 1830, p[3].
- (30) BAG Mb 6425. Details of one of the bands in this picture are given in Table 3.1 later in this chapter. Evidence from pictures of this kind is invaluable for the study of early wind bands, particularly as other sources are usually fragmentary and uninformative.
- (31) Gloucester Journal, 24 April 1830, p[3].
- (32) The West Briton, 7 July 1837, p[2].



1822. Seven or eight hundred people sat down to dine. The 'Sussex Band of Music' entertained the revellers. (28) Bands were employed in election campaigns; at the Gloucester county elections held in August 1830, the rival candidates processed to the Shire Hall, accompanied by 'bands of music'. (29) Bands also featured in the processions which accompanied the 'chairing' of triumphant candidates. For instance, Henry Smith's pen, ink and watercolour picture The Chairing of Henry Bright, March 10th 1820 shows the procession celebrating the election of Bright as Whig M.P. for Bristol. The picture includes three wind bands, comprising an aggregate of 35 instrumentalists. (30) Bands were also used to provide music for the many opening ceremonies which accompanied the expansion of educational and religious facilities during this period and later. For example, on the occasion of the laying of a foundation stone of a new Chapel of Ease at Mangotsfield in 1830, an unidentified band led a procession of the minister, churchwardens and 'principal inhabitants of the parish' to the site. (31) In 1837, an unidentified band played at the opening of a school in St. Agnes in Cornwall. (32)

There are other indications that there was considerable enthusiasm for wind bands amongst the middle and upper classes during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It has already been shown that wind

(33) See Chamberlain [c.1929], p126, which relates a slightly bizarre anecdote about the Marquis and a one-eyed serpent player!

(34) See Carse 1946.

bands were established and supported at considerable expense by officers of the militia and volunteers. Private wind bands were also maintained by some members of the aristocracy and by royalty. The Marquis of Blandford had his own private wind band at Whiteknights (near Reading) in the early nineteenth century and composed music for it. (33) The most prestigious private band of all was the band maintained by the Prince of Wales (who was later to become Prince Regent and, eventually, George IV). This band was very large, probably varying between about 30 and 40 brass, woodwind and percussion players. It became internationally famous; it included a number of virtuoso professional instrumentalists, some of whom were specially imported from the continent. Amongst the leading musicians were the bandmaster, the Hanoverian Christian Kramer; the trumpeter, J.G. Schmidt; the slide trumpeter and keyed bugler John Distin, and the serpent player, F. André. It was thought that the annual cost of maintaining such a band added between six and seven thousand pounds to George IV's already enormous debts. The band had a very large and varied repertoire. Kramer made arrangements of classical symphonies, oratorio choruses, operatic selections and overtures, songs and glees. (34) Croft-Murray, in his article on wind bands in England, stated that other arrangers also supplied music to the prince. C.F. Eley, bandmaster of the Coldstream Guards, provided

(35) Croft-Murray 1980, pp145-6.

(36) Ibid., p146.

(37) Weber 1975, p3.



arrangements of a number of pieces, including operatic items and some marches. (35) Henry Pick, a member of Queen Charlotte's band, supplied the prince with a number of band items, including overtures, divertimenti, operatic airs, marches and troops. (36)

The variety of the music played by this band underlines the eclectic nature of the musical taste of the wealthier members of society in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Concert programmes continued to reflect this eclecticism until well into the nineteenth century; Weber, in his Music and the Middle Class, states that a single contemporary concert programme could contain a wide variety of music, including perhaps symphonies, operatic selections, songs, sacred choral works, dance music, chamber music and virtuoso items. (37) Enthusiasm for band music was one aspect of this eclecticism in musical taste and was to persist amongst many of the middle and upper classes into the second half of the nineteenth century.

### iii) Personnel

Like the bands of the auxiliary forces and the church, civilian secular bands appear to have been composed mainly of artisans, although a few middle-class



(38) Gammon 1936, p121. Gammon used a key to J. Archer's painting, The Arrival of William IV and Queen Adelaide at "The Friars" Lewes (which hangs in Lewes town hall) to find the names of the players in the band.

(39) Ibid., loc. cit.. Gammon draws upon Burstow's list of the names and addresses of the Horsham band in the late 1830s - see Burstow 1975, p50.

(40) McBrown [1987], p[10].

(41) Rolston 1978 [Haslemere in History], p88.

(42) Galpin 1906, p102.

(43) Ibid., loc. cit..

individuals were also present. Gammon, in his thesis on popular music in Sussex, included the results of his research into the background of 2 Sussex bands. A band of 15 players which was depicted in a painting of a royal visit to Lewes in 1830 was, Gammon writes, 'Strongly artisan in character'. It included amongst its members a journeyman cabinet maker, 3 journeyman tailors, 2 shoemakers, 1 music teacher, 1 gaslighter, 1 victualler, 2 gardeners, 1 writer and a man who was either a gardener or a tailor. One other may have been a music master. (38) The Horsham band in the late 1830s consisted of 12 instrumentalists. Gammon found the probable occupations of 9 of these. There were 2 bricklayers, 2 sweeps, 1 basket maker, 1 chair maker, 1 corn chandler, 1 plasterer and 1 carpenter. (39)

There are other pieces of evidence concerning the occupations of bandsmen elsewhere. Most of this relates to bandsmen who were artisans; the founder of Bridger's band in Haslemere in the mid-1830s was William Bridger, a wood and brush stock turner. (40) The leaders of Berry's band, which also existed in Haslemere in the 1830s, were Edward and William Berry, who were both brickmakers. (41) Galpin stated that the bassoon player in the village band at Winterborne St. Martin (Dorset) in about 1820 was a mason, called 'Uncle James'. (42) John Norman, the village blacksmith, played the serpent in what was probably the same band. (43) However, one or two lower middle-class

(44) HRO D/EX 3/10, diary entry for Thursday 14 May 1807.

(45) McBrown [1937], p[10].

(46) The West Briton, Friday 21 July 1837, p[2].

individuals are also to be found; the leader of the 'Wellwin Band of Musick' in 1807 was 'Mr Otway Schoolmaster at Wellwin'. (44) Charles Bridger, trombonist in Bridger's band, was an estate agent. (45)

Although I have encountered little evidence relating to the finances of civilian secular bands, I suspect that most of the members of these bands were amateur players in the sense that most of their income was derived from activities other than music-making. It will be shown later that civilian secular bands only seem to have practised and performed together infrequently. Even if some of the bandsmen played in church or military bands, it is unlikely that they made sufficient money from banding to be classified as professionals. Also, some bands in the late 1830s were described as 'amateur bands' - for example, in July 1837, the 'Fowey amateur band' played for the Fowey Regatta. (46)

It is therefore probable that civilian secular bands, like the bands of the church and the military, were enabling a number of working-class amateurs to play wind instruments. This affected the later development of banding in a number of ways. Some of the bandsmen playing in civilian secular wind bands in the early nineteenth century were to remain involved in banding in the second half of the century. Bridger's band was formed by William Bridger in Haslemere in 1834. The band was still in

(47) McBrown [1987], p[10].

(48) See *ibid.*, loc. cit.. Nine Bridgers - William, his seven sons and his cousin - were associated in some way with Bridger's band in 1882.

(49) Burstow 1975, p50.

(50) See Albery 1944, p317.



existence in 1882 and Bridger (by then aged 72) was still a member. (47) Also, like the bands associated with the church and the military, civilian secular bands may have been important in allowing some families to develop traditions of involvement in amateur instrumental music, traditions which encouraged successive generations to become involved in banding. Families may also have been important in transmitting musical knowledge of various kinds. There is certainly evidence that some families had a close association with banding. The Bridgers of Haslemere remained connected with Bridger's band for many years. (48) In the late 1830s, there were 8 Potters and 2 Lintotts amongst the 12 members of the Horsham band. (49) In 1861, the name of Potter was still associated with banding in Horsham; the bandmaster of Horsham Town band, which was formed in that year, was called Edwin Potter. (50)

#### iv) Organisation

In 1885, a writer in the Brass Band News assessed the progress which had been made by bands. He included the following comments:

(51) Brass Band News, 1 May 1985, p[2].

(52) See, for instance, the Gloucester Journal's report of the celebrations at Dursley on the occasion of the proclamation of George IV's accession; this refers to a procession of officials headed by an [anonymous] 'band of music'. (Gloucester Journal, Monday 14 February 1820, p[3].)

We wonder what the old 'Amateur Bands' would have thought of six or seven practices a week? One practice a month, and that when a "job" was looming in the distance, was quite sufficient for these respectable but unmusical old worthies. (51)

This quotation would appear to suggest that many bands in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries only came together for special occasions. It is likely that they were informal 'scratch' bands, formed by gathering together all the available musicians in the locality. This is suggested by Eagles's comment that the band at parish club meetings was formed by 'a junction of parish bands'. This would also explain why contemporary accounts of band performances often do not state the name of the band involved - in many cases, they merely refer to a 'band' being present. (52) If civilian secular bands were loose, informal gatherings of players, it may not have been thought worthwhile to give them names.

While the bands of the auxiliary forces and (to a lesser extent) the church were governed by rules relating to attendance and other disciplinary matters, it is unlikely that these 'scratch' bands possessed similar regulations. It was hardly worthwhile for such rules

(53) Russell 1987, p157.

(54) Ibid., p158. Russell's comments also apply to other musical societies, such as choirs or orchestras.



(particularly rules insisting on regular attendance) to be drawn up for bands which were so ephemeral in character.

Civilian secular bands may have been 'scratch' bands because it would have been difficult for the bandsmen to play together frequently; the players may have been members of military or church bands and therefore would have found it difficult to make a regular commitment. The irregular, informal nature of some early wind bands was also probably a consequence of the seasonal work rhythms of rural life. At busy periods in the year, such as harvest time, it would have been difficult to keep bands in existence.

Basing his comments on his research in northern England, Russell observes that, after about 1820, some bands became formalised. They possessed rules and committees, they played together regularly. This formalisation process, which affected other forms of musical activity, was reflected in the way in which bands started to be identified by name in the sources. (53) Russell states that formalisation was taking place as

both a response to new opportunities offered by a rapidly expanding and industrialising society and a defence against the dislocation emanating from the changes that expansion and industrialisation created. (54)



(55) Russell 1987, pp158-9.

(56) Ibid., pp159-160.

According to Russell, industrialising Britain offered a large number of occasions at which amateur musicians could perform, such as opening ceremonies, workers' treats or political demonstrations. Musical societies needed to become more organised and play together more frequently if they were to take full advantage of these opportunities. (55) Also, Russell states that formalisation was a response to the longer hours and lower wages of the period after 1820. With the imposition of work-discipline and regular hours by industrialists, regular rehearsals were facilitated and were needed in order to replace the informal gatherings which had previously been possible. Weekly subscriptions were a means of sharing costs between players, a form of mutual aid. Fines safeguarded band property at a time when its replacement would have been difficult. (56)

Although I have found no evidence relating to civilian secular bands in southern England developing rules and committees during this period, I suspect that Russell is correct to argue that bands were becoming increasingly formalised by about the second quarter of the century. There are two types of evidence which may suggest that some bands were playing together frequently by this time.

There is certainly an increase in the use of band names in newspaper reports of band performances in

(57) Gloucester Journal, Saturday 7 July 1838, p[3]. It is possible, of course, that the increasing use of band names in newspaper accounts may simply reflect the increasing detail to be found in contemporary reporting (particularly with respect to musical matters) in the second quarter of the century.

(58) BAG K 5116.

(59) Gloucester Journal, Saturday 7 July 1838, p[3].

(60) Ibid., loc.cit..

southern England in the second quarter of the century. This may indicate that some bands were playing and rehearsing together sufficiently frequently for it to be considered worthwhile for the band to have a name. For instance, at the celebrations at Wood Stanway, Gloucestershire, which marked the coronation of Queen Victoria in 1838, God Save the Queen was 'accompanied by the Winchcomb[e] band'. (57)

Also, there are a number of examples of bands playing in uniform at about this time. Robert Greethead's pen, ink and watercolour picture The Procession in Bristol celebrating the Election of the Hon. F.H.F. Berkeley, July 27th 1837 includes a band of about ten players in blue coats and white trousers. (58) Uniformed bands also took part in the festivities in Gloucestershire which marked the coronation of Queen Victoria. At Minchinhampton, 'an excellent band was in attendance, clothed in scarlet'. (59) At Thornbury, a procession included two unidentified bands, both 'in uniform'. (60) The fact that a band possessed uniforms would suggest that the players played together sufficiently frequently to make the purchase of uniforms feasible and worthwhile. It may also indicate a stable membership - it would be pointless to buy a uniform for a man who only played with the band occasionally.

While I have found no evidence of bands possessing rules or committees, this does not mean that band rules

(61) See Hudson 1965, p29 and p34.



and committees did not exist.

Russell's association of formalisation with industrialisation is certainly convincing. It will be noticed that the four bands in uniform mentioned above were all from south Gloucestershire, which supported quite a lot of manufacturing industry at this time, including the dying and fulling mills of the Stroud valleys and the many industrial concerns associated with the Bristol area. (61)

However, a further factor in the formalisation of bands may have been the possible diminution of military and church support, particularly in the second quarter of the century, which meant that bandsmen formerly employed in church and military bands now had time to play regularly with a civilian secular band. It was therefore possible and more worthwhile for civilian secular bands to devise rules which enforced regular and frequent attendance and regulated other disciplinary matters.

#### v) Instruments

Table 3.1 below gives the instrumentation of five civilian secular wind bands in the early nineteenth century. This is followed by explanatory notes.

Table 3.1: Instruments used by five civilian secular wind bands in southern England, 1807-late 1830s

	Bands (see notes below)				
	A	B	C	D	E
Piccolo	-	-	-		-
Flute	1	2	1	1	
Fife	-	-	-	-	1
Oboe	-	-	-	2	-
Clarinet	4	4	2	3	3
Bassoon	2	-	1	2	-
Serpent	-	-	-	-	1
Trumpet	-	5	1	-	1
Keyed bugle	-	-	-	2	2
Horn	1	2	1	2	1
Trombone	-	-	-	1	2
Triangle	-	1	-	-	-
Tambourine	1	-	-	-	-
Cymbals	1	-	-	-	-
Bass drum	-	1	1	1	1
Unidentified	?	3	1	1	-
	—	—	—	—	—
Total players	10?	18	8?	15	12

(62) HRO D/EX 3/10, diary entry for Thursday 14 May 1307.

(63) BAG Mb 6425.

A) 'Wellwin Band of Musick' 1807

On 14 May 1807, John Carrington, a farmer from Bramfield (Hertfordshire), saw the 'Wellwin Band of Musick' at Tewin. He wrote in his diary that the band consisted of '4 Clarernetts 2 Buzzoons, 1. french horne Tumbrean & Simbolds &c &c... M<sup>r</sup> Otway plaid the flute as Master'. [sic throughout] The '&c &c' in Carrington's description may imply that there were other instrumentalists present; it was certainly unusual for a wind band to lack a bass drum at this time. (62)

B) Band in Bristol procession, 1820

Henry Smith's pen, ink and watercolour picture The Chairing of Henry Bright, March 10th 1820 shows the triumphal progress through the streets of Bristol made by Henry Bright after his election as M.P. for the city in 1820. The procession includes 3 wind bands. The largest of these is given in Table 3.1. The painting is a little crude; it is therefore difficult to be certain about some of the instruments played. It is possible that some of the clarinetists were playing the oboe, although (given the demise of the oboe in military bands) this is unlikely. (63)

C) Band at Spring Gardens, Charing Cross, 1830

Croft-Murray reproduces a detail from a lithograph by

(64) Croft-Murray 1980, p159 and plate 125.

(65) Gammon 1986, p120. The picture hangs in Lewes town hall.

(66) Burstow 1975, p50.



George Scharf - The "Fancy Fair", in aid of the Charing Cross Hospital, at the Mansion of John Penn Esq., Spring Gardens, Charing Cross, May 1830. This shows a small civilian wind band seated at a table. Part of the band is obscured by a tree; it is impossible to identify the instrument played by one of the musicians. It is also possible that other bandsmen are hidden from view. (64)

D) Band present at royal visit to Lewes, 1830

In his thesis on popular music in rural Sussex, Gammon mentions J. Archer's painting The Arrival of William IV and Queen Adelaide at "The Friars", Lewes which depicts a royal visit to Lewes in 1830. The painting shows a wind band of 15 players in its bottom left-hand corner. Gammon found it possible to identify the instruments used by 14 of the musicians. These he gave as 3 clarinets, 2 french horns, 2 bassoons, 2 [keyed] bugles, 2 oboes, a flute or piccolo, a [bass] trombone and a bass drum. (65)

E) Horsham Band, late 1830s

The information given in Table 3.1 is taken from a list of the instrumentalists of the Horsham band for the period 'about 1835 or 1840' in Henry Burstow's Reminiscences of Horsham. Burstow's list indicates that one of the players 'doubled' on the flute or the fife. It also states that Isaac Aldridge played the 'Drum'. (66)

(67) Burstow 1975, p50.

However, on the same page, he makes it clear that Aldridge was the band's 'big [or bass] drummer'. (67) Burstow's list should be treated with a certain amount of caution; he was a boy in the 1830s and his memoirs were only written many years later.

Using the information presented in Table 3.1, as well as other evidence, a number of points can be made about the instrumentation of civilian secular wind bands in southern England at this time. Bands were unstandardised combinations of woodwind, brass and percussion instruments. It should also be remembered that some town or village bands at this time may not have had a fixed membership and may have varied in size from one performance to another.

However, while the instrumentation of bands was not standardised, bands did have certain common features. Percussion instruments were important in most bands. At least 4 out of the 5 bands in Table 3.1 included a bass drum. Other percussion instruments were also employed by 2 of the bands. As Chapter 1 shows, the percussion instruments of 'Turkish music' were fashionable at this time. They were particularly attractive for bands because they added to the spectacle of a band performance. One of Burstow's most vivid memories of the Horsham band concerned the bass drum playing of Ike Aldridge, who

(68) Burstow 1975, p50.

(69) In this respect, civilian bands were similar to the bands associated with the militia and volunteers.

(70) BAG Mb 846.

would 'delight us boys by his extraordinary drumstick flourishes, and his industrious accompaniments to the Band's favourite melodies'. (68) Percussion instruments were also important because bands spent much of their time accompanying processions or dances.

In addition to percussion, many civilian secular bands of the early nineteenth century made use of a 'core' of bassoons, horns and clarinets, to which various other instruments were usually added. (69) This is true of 3 out of the 5 bands in Table 3.1. The absence of bassoons in the band in Henry Smith's picture does not necessarily mean that bassoons were not in use in bands in the Bristol area at about this time; there are at least 2 bassoonists amongst the many bandsmen in Robert Greethead's pen, ink and watercolour picture The Procession [in Bristol] celebrating the Coronation of William IV and Queen Adelaide, September 8th 1831. (70) The explanation for the absence of bassoonists in Smith's picture and for their rarity in the procession depicted by Greethead may be that bassoons were cumbersome instruments to use on the march and therefore were sometimes dispensed with on such occasions.

It will be noticed that, while Carrington only mentioned that a single brass instrument (a horn) was present in the Welwyn band of 1807, brass instrumentalists accounted for a greater proportion of



(71) Gammon 1986, p120.

the members of later bands. It is possible to identify 7 brass and 6 woodwind players in the band in the Bristol procession of 1820. 2 brass and 4 woodwind players can be made out in the band playing at Charing Cross in 1830. It is possible to discern 5 brass and 8 woodwind players in Archer's painting of the royal visit to Lewes in the same year. The Horsham band in the late 1830s included 6 brass and only 4 woodwind players and a serpent. Gammon has stated that the band at Lewes probably had a 'reedy sound'. (71) Perhaps this was the case. Nevertheless, if the bands in Table 3.1 are representative of bands in southern England in general, bands in the 1820s and 1830s were favouring a more brassy type of combination than before.

To some extent, this was the result of the increasing use of the chromatic brass - keyed bugles, trombones and (later) valved instruments. Before these developments, trombones were probably very unusual in amateur bands. The other brass instruments - horns and trumpets - were restricted to the notes of only a single harmonic series at a time and were therefore only of limited value. The appearance of the chromatic brass meant that brass instruments were capable of taking a greater part in the band; trombones could play the tenor or the bass line and keyed bugles and cornets could be used for the treble. Chromatic brass instruments

(72) Baines 1930, p194.

(73) See *ibid.*, pp195-7, which refers to Bishop writing for the instrument in an operetta of 1813.

(74) See Herbert 1934, p471 et seq..

(75) Scott 1970, pp46-7.

possessed a number of advantages over woodwind instruments, advantages which may have caused bands to make greater use of brass players. They were capable of producing a more powerful sound than woodwind instruments and were therefore better suited to outdoor playing, which was the main function of contemporary bands. They were also somewhat easier to learn (this advantage applied particularly to the valved brass) and maintain.

However, the chromatic brass were only slowly introduced into civilian amateur bands. The earliest example I have found of a band in southern England using the keyed bugle or the trombone is the band playing for the royal visit to Lewes in 1830. The keyed bugle was patented in 1810 (72) and was being used by professional players in London shortly afterwards. (73) The reintroduction of the trombone into Britain took place in 1784, at the time of the Handel celebrations. After this time, a number of professionals were playing the instrument. (74)

Scott's study of bands in northern England states that valved instruments probably first appeared in England in 1831, when valved trumpets were used by the band of the 2nd Life Guards. Cornopeans (as early cornets were called) were introduced a year or two later. (75) However, I have found little evidence of the use of valved instruments in amateur bands in southern England

(76) BAG K 5116.

(77) Gloucester Journal, Saturday 4 January 1840, p[3].



in the 1830s. A cornopean may be present in one of the bands in Robert Greethead's picture of The Procession in Bristol celebrating the Election of the Hon. F.H.F. Berkeley, July 27th 1837, but the figure is not very clear and one cannot be sure. (76) The cornopean was sufficiently unfamiliar in southern England for the Hohlstein family cornopean band to feel that they had to include the following explanation in an advertisement for their performance at Gloucester in 1840:

The Cornopean.- The Messrs. H. take the liberty of stating the above is a splendid new Instrument of French invention, possessing three valves, which produce the respective tones of the Trumpet, Bugle, and French Horn, (at the liberty of the performer,) and a tone peculiar to itself, which has rendered it the admiration and delight of the musical world; and when those Instruments are accompanied by Trombones, namely, tenor and bass, they form an harmonious Band, which is quite original.  
(77)

The introduction of the chromatic brass into amateur bands in southern England may have been hindered by the absence of patronage for southern bands from wealthy

(78) DeRO Z7/Box 19/7a, p[2], letter to [the subscribers of?] the Modbury band, dated 14 July 1838.

(79) Burstow 1975, p50.

industrialists. Elsewhere, this allowed bands to afford the high cost of keyed and valved brass and trombones. The introduction of the chromatic brass may also have been fairly slow because the promotion of band instruments by travelling professionals and by advertising in the press was still at a fairly early stage.

However, while the commercialisation of banding had not progressed far in the early nineteenth century, there are indications that some suppliers of musical instruments were doing a fair amount of trade with amateur bands. One of these firms was Thomas Stockham, of 36 Edgcombe Street, Stonehouse, Gloucestershire, who claimed in a letter dated 14 July 1838 that 'I have for these last 4 years sent instruments into Cornwall & Devonshire and I have never had one returned and have received letters of satisfaction'. (78)

#### vi) Repertoire

At least some of the members of civilian secular bands were musically literate. Burstow referred to the Horsham bandsmen obtaining manuscript band parts. (79) Also, a number of manuscript books probably used in civilian secular bands have survived, among them a manuscript book which belonged to the Sussex clarinetist

(80) SAS/[Aylmore MS]/[1]. The book bears the dates 1796 and 1818 and includes a number of secular pieces. It contains clarinet parts as well as music for other instruments such as the oboe, horn and bugle.

(81) SAS/[Welch MS]/[1]. The book bears the dates 1800, 1820 and 1822 in various hands. It contains parts for both secular and church music. The former - which include horn and clarinet music - may be for wind band.

William Aylmore (80) and another which was used by some other Sussex musicians, the Welch family of Bosham. (81)

Although some printed music for wind band was available in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it is likely that most bands made use of manuscript arrangements, which were probably made specially for them by local musicians. Printed music was expensive and may have required adaptation. Also, manuscript arrangements could be tailored to the particular requirements of a band. Some bandsmen may have had sufficient skill to make these arrangements themselves. It will be remembered that the Lewes band in 1830 may have included two music teachers.

I have found nothing to suggest that amateur bands played the sort of ambitious repertoire favoured by the Prince Regent's band. To judge from contemporary accounts of band performances and manuscript books used by bandsmen, civilian secular bands accustomed the population to hearing a repertoire of short, simple, light pieces. Usually, these were played as background music for festive occasions of various kinds.

Bands often performed popular national songs, dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For instance, on 15 November 1820, an unnamed band paraded the streets of Col[e]ford (Gloucestershire) 'playing various national airs' as part of the celebrations which marked the defeat of proceedings



- (82) Gloucester Journal, Monday 27 November 1820, p[3].
- (83) The West Briton, Friday 29 September 1837, p[4].
- (84) Ibid., Friday 30 June 1837, p[2].
- (85) Burstow 1975, p46.
- (86) SAS/[Welch MS]/[1], p[20], [at back, reversed].
- (87) Burstow op. cit., p50.
- (88) Gloucester Journal, Saturday 7 July 1838, p[3].

against the Queen. (82) Sometimes, the sources are more specific; in 1837, an unidentified band played Henry Purcell's Britons Strike Home at a Reform dinner held at Truro Assembly Room. (83) During the celebrations of the proclamation of Queen Victoria in the same year, an unnamed band played Arne's Rule Britannia and God save the Queen for a large crowd at Falmouth. (84) C. Leveridge's song, The Roast Beef of Old England (written in 1736) was played by the 'Sussex Band of Music' at a dinner in 1822. (85)

Arrangements of a few popular songs of more recent origin were also played by some bands. For instance, the manuscript book of the Welch family, which was probably compiled during the first three or four decades of the nineteenth century, contains Home Sweet Home by Henry Bishop; this piece was first performed in the opera Clari in 1823. (86) The Horsham band included an arrangement of the song Rory O'More (composed by Samuel Lover in 1828) in their repertoire in the late 1830s. (87)

There is some evidence that bands sometimes accompanied singing; for instance, at a feast at Whitminster celebrating the coronation of Queen Victoria in 1838, the national anthem was sung, 'accompanied by a band of music'. (88)

Works composed as band marches also formed an important part of the band repertoire; the manuscript book of William Aylmore includes a large number of such

(89) See, for example, SAS/[Aylmore MS]/[1], p5 - The new Coldstream March.

(90) Burstow 1975, p50.

(91) Ibid., pp43-4.

pieces. (89) Bands also played arrangements of works originally composed for voice which could be used for marching; the Horsham band included Boyce's song Hearts of Oak in their repertoire in the late 1830s. (90)

Arrangements of pieces composed as instrumental dances were also important in the band repertoire. Between them, the Welch and Aylmore manuscript books include a large number of jigs, reels, minuets, waltzes and hornpipes. There is certainly evidence that such pieces were played to accompany dancing; Burstow refers to the Horsham band playing for dancing during the 1838 coronation celebrations. (91)

It is very unusual to find more than one or two parts for a piece of civilian secular band music. However, the Aylmore manuscript book contains Andrew Mack, a dance in 6/8. Parts are given for two treble instruments and a bass, although it is possible that other parts also existed. This piece deserves special attention as a rare example of the scoring of civilian secular band music. As Aylmore was a clarinetist and the book contains other pieces where 1st and 2nd clarinet parts are given, it is likely that the treble parts were written for 1st and 2nd clarinet. The bass part is in the same key as the treble (D major) which would suggest that C clarinets were used. The bass instrument was probably a bassoon; it was the commonest bass instrument in contemporary wind bands. The treble and bass parts fit

(92) SAS/[Aylmore MS]/[1], pp[40-1]. In the fifth full bar of the 2nd clarinet part there are alternative notes given (F sharp or A). This may indicate that two players were to play the second part and were to divide at this point. Alternatively, it could be a mistake.



within the respective ranges of the clarinet and bassoon.  
The first repeated section of this is given in Example  
3.1 below.

Example 3.1: First repeated section, Andrew Mack (Aylmore  
MS) (92)

Handwritten musical score for the first system of Example 3.1. It consists of three staves. The top staff is labeled "[1st. Clarinet in C]" and contains a melody in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 6/8 time signature. The middle staff is labeled "[Clarinet Secondo in C]" and contains a melody in treble clef with the same key signature and time signature. The bottom staff is labeled "Bassoon?" and contains a melody in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. The music is divided into four measures by vertical bar lines.

Handwritten musical score for the second system of Example 3.1. It consists of three staves, continuing the notation from the first system. The top staff is labeled "[1st. Clarinet in C]", the middle staff is labeled "[Clarinet Secondo in C]", and the bottom staff is labeled "Bassoon?". The music is divided into four measures by vertical bar lines. A double bar line is present at the end of the system.

(93) See Weber 1975, pp85-114.

Example 3.1 bears out the impression stated above that the music of civilian secular bands consisted of short pieces, which were easy to play. The piece contains no rhythmic difficulties. Although no indications of tempo are given, it is unlikely that the parts would have required great dexterity from the players. Like most of the items in the Aylmore manuscript book, there are no dynamic markings. The music is homophonic, with the lower parts remaining subordinate throughout. The whole piece consists of two repeated sections of 8 and 16 bars respectively.

The absence of 'art' music from the repertoire may be a reflection of the fact that it was difficult for working men to gain access to 'art' music. Published music was expensive and performances of 'art' music would have been rare in the countryside. Even in the towns, it would have been difficult for working men to hear such pieces, although the period after the Napoleonic wars did witness an expansion of concerts catering for the lower middle classes and artisans. (93)

The lightness of the repertoire also betrays the sort of occasions at which bands were expected to perform. I have found no examples of bands being expected to provide anything other than background music for a procession, dinner, dance, ceremony or celebration. There does not appear to be any evidence that civilian secular

bands in southern England took part in concerts or contests in the early nineteenth century. The mid-Victorian period was to witness the creation of parks and the erection of buildings such as concert halls and schoolrooms, all of which were to be important venues for performances in which bands were the centre of attention - concerts and contests. However, many places - particularly in the countryside - did not possess this infrastructure during the period covered by this chapter.

The nature of the repertoire is also probably testimony to the organisational structure of bands. It has already been mentioned that many bands in southern England were probably informal ensembles, which did not play together frequently. Even if the occasion had called for such music, it would have been unwise for bands to attempt to play difficult pieces, as they only played together occasionally.

The absence of 'art' music from the repertoire may also be a reflection of the fact that, at this stage, civilian secular bands do not appear to have been under pressure from social and musical commentators to play ambitious pieces of operatic and oratorio music. However, pressure of this kind was to mount in the second half of the century, and some late Victorian writers were to show themselves to be contemptuous of the 'triviality' of the light music played by bands.

PART II: BANDS IN THE VICTORIAN PERIOD

Chapter 4: Social and musical comment on bands in  
Victorian Britain

Chapter 5: Bands in the mid-nineteenth century

Chapter 6: Volunteer bands in the late nineteenth  
century

Chapter 7: Banding in southern England, c.1860-  
c.1900



CHAPTER 4: SOCIAL AND MUSICAL COMMENT ON BANDS IN  
VICTORIAN BRITAIN

- i) Introduction
- ii) 'Rational Recreation'
- iii) Status
- iv) Bands and Religion

(1) Bailey 1978, p36.

## CHAPTER 4: SOCIAL AND MUSICAL COMMENT ON BANDS IN VICTORIAN BRITAIN

### i) Introduction

This chapter is intended to convey some idea of the sometimes contradictory views on bands which were expressed by journalists and other writers in books and periodicals published in Victorian Britain. This group might be labelled the 'opinion-formers', although it will be seen later in this thesis that, in some respects, its effect in influencing the opinions of both the working and the middle classes was fairly limited.

### ii) 'Rational Recreation'

In the mid-nineteenth century, many commentators were worried by the problems which afflicted Britain largely as the result of major contemporary social changes such as urbanisation and industrialisation. The working classes, were, it appeared, potentially revolutionary, having participated in the Chartist disturbances of the 1830s and 40s. (1) Despite the limitations imposed upon it by urbanisation and despite the attempts of reformers to influence its content, popular culture also troubled some

- (2) Bailey 1978, pp8-9.
- (3) Ibid., pp16-17.
- (4) Ibid., pp12-13. See also Reid 1976.
- (5) Bailey op. cit., p4.

observers. Some of the more disorderly or brutal popular amusements - such as street football - persisted, particularly because they functioned as safety valves to release the tensions experienced by a workforce which faced the strain of more regular and intensive working hours in often unpleasant conditions. (2) In the absence of other recreational facilities, the pub consolidated its position as a central feature of working-class life. (3) Partly as an attempt to preserve time for themselves, working people continued the practice of extending the weekend by taking 'St. Monday' and other traditional holidays. (4) These features of popular culture offended the growing body of Evangelicals among the middle classes and in some cases interfered with the work-discipline which employers were trying to impose. The problems working-class rioters and revellers represented for some middle-class people were compounded by the social dislocation created by urbanisation. In close-knit rural communities, deference and peer pressure had been important in controlling the behaviour of working people. Deference and peer-pressure were not entirely absent from the industrial towns and cities of Victorian Britain; nevertheless, in some respects, working people in these places probably enjoyed a greater degree of personal freedom than ever before. (5)

Some social reformers began to call for the creation of new leisure facilities for the working classes. Part of



(6) Bailey 1978, pp35-6.

(7) Ibid., pp170-1.

(8) See Gatens 1986, p36, which traces some of the antecedents of the view that music could have a beneficial effect upon morality.

the motivation for this was a humanitarian concern at what were seen as the limited recreational facilities available to the working class in industrial towns and villages. (6) However, the promotion of what was termed 'rational recreation' was also linked to the desire to find social controls which addressed the 'problems' represented by working-class amusements and political activities. Typically, 'rational recreations' concentrated on the disciplining and moral 'improvement' of working people. It was intended that those touched by rational recreation would become 'respectable', ultimately developing a preference for the cultivation of the intellect rather than the sensual gratification offered by some plebeian amusements. Rational recreations would also serve as counter-attractions, diverting the lower orders from pursuits which were seen as undesirable. In the leisure culture which reformers aimed to create, it was also intended that the middle classes would mix with their social inferiors, projecting acceptable standards of behaviour and perhaps contributing to good relations between the classes. (7)

Previously, music had been identified by some commentators as having the potential to raise moral standards. (8) However, this view was articulated with particular frequency from the 1830s onwards: commentators considered that music had a purifying influence on the

(9) Hogarth 1838, p273.

(10) Ibid., pp274-5.

(11) Mainzer 1848, p86.

(12) Ibid., pp103-4.

(13) Ibid., pxiii.

character of its hearers and that it could also serve as a counter-attraction to less reputable activities. Music therefore came to be identified as a means of social control, a potential agency of rational recreation. The critic George Hogarth referred to the moral potential of music in his Musical History, Biography, and Criticism, first published in 1835. He stated that 'The tendency of music is to soften and purify the mind' (9) and claimed that, in Northern England, where there was a flourishing amateur musical tradition, the working people had a taste for sobriety, independence and family life. (10) Other authors put forward a similar view. In 1848, the musical educator, Joseph Mainzer, stated in his Music and Education that vocal music could be an 'innocent and elevating recreation' (11) and argued that musical education was a means of promoting temperance, domesticity and orderly behaviour. (12) Mainzer was also aware of the potential of music as a counter-attraction to less desirable amusements. He stated that 'If the family afforded recreation through music' people 'would not want to seek it elsewhere'. (13) One of the most influential advocates of the view that music could have a beneficial influence upon morality was the Rev. H.R. Haweis, whose book, Music and Morals, first appeared in 1871. This was sufficiently popular in style to reach a wide audience and went through 18 editions by 1898. In this, Haweis

(14) Haweis 1898, p553.

(15) Gatens 1986, p33.

(16) Ibid., p34.



argued that music was able to influence the emotional state of the hearer and that this influence could induce a state of mind conducive to moral behaviour. According to Haweis, music was potentially an agency which 'soothes, relieves, recreates, and elevates the people'. (14)

The position that music could have a beneficial influence on morality was underpinned by the widespread acceptance of the 'hermeneutic' theory of music by most Victorian musicians. According to this view, music had a referential significance over and beyond the formal patterns created by composers and had the capacity to affect the moral character of its hearers. (15) The opposing 'formalist' approach was advocated by the Viennese critic, Hanslick. Hanslick saw musical appreciation as being limited to the consideration of the form, rather than the 'message', of a piece of music. He would not concede that music could have a moral impact. Despite a visit to England by Hanslick in 1852, the formalist position attracted few adherents. According to Gatens's study of Victorian cathedral music, amongst British musicians 'some trans-formal property seems to have been taken for granted, even if not always emphasised'. (16)

The investment of music with a moral function may have been related to the growing interest in music amongst

- (17) See Weber 1975, p17 and Temperley 1936, pp16-18.
- (18) Gatens op. cit., p22. Some sabbatarian comments about Sunday bands seem to show traces of neo-puritan attitudes to music - see section iv) of this chapter.
- (19) Bailey 1977, p15.
- (20) Ibid., pp15-18.
- (21) Ibid., p20 et seq..

the middle classes in the 1830s and 40s. (17) Gatens has stated that the association of music with moral benefits may have been a way in which middle-class musical enthusiasts answered the reservations of those people professing what he terms 'neo-puritan' attitudes to music. According to Gatens, neo-puritanism - particularly pervasive amongst Evangelicals - was a collection of vulgarised ideas of seventeenth-century rationalists, and included doubts about the sensual, emotional appeal of music and the view that music was a morally questionable activity. (18) The association of music with moral improvement may also have been a way in which other middle-class misgivings were laid to rest. Bailey's article on the attitudes of the Victorian middle class towards leisure in general has pointed out that the middle classes in the mid-nineteenth century had 'an attenuated leisure culture to draw upon' and that their values were 'work-oriented'. (19) They were accordingly uneasy about the opportunities for leisure which were beginning to appear. (20) Middle-class doubts about leisure only diminished when leisure was legitimated in terms of the work ethic and presented as a means of restoring the strength for the next day's work. (21) Perhaps the association of music with moral benefits was another instance of the way in which some middle-class people overcame their unease about leisure activity.

(22) The Musical Times, 1 June 1847, p1.

(23) [Hogarth and Wills] 1850, p162. It is amusing to note that the reality of the Cyfarthfa band was rather different. See Herbert 1988, which refers to Crawshay spending large sums at a local pub to finance his band's drinking. The man who arranged the music for the band, George D'Artney, was apparently a debtor and a heavy drinker.

(24) [Hogarth and Wills] op. cit., pp161-2.



Although the evidence of opinion regarding bands is fragmentary, it is clear that band music was being identified as a potential agency of rational recreation by the mid-nineteenth century. An article published in The Musical Times in 1847 seems to have been referring to bands having a morally 'improving' effect when it stated that the band established by the Great Western Railway (probably the Swindon Mechanics' Institution band) at the Swindon workshops functioned 'for the benefit, improvement, and amusement of their workmen'. (22) In 1850, Hogarth and Wills published an article - 'Music in Humble Life' - in Dickens's Household Words. This included extracts from a London journalist's account of the Cyfarthfa band, established by the ironmaster Robert Crawshay at Merthyr in South Wales. The journalist reported that 'The habits and manners' of the working men of the locality had been 'decidedly improved' by the 'softening influences' of the band's music; he found no evidence of drunkenness or disorderliness and depicted the lower classes as enjoying the respectable pleasures of domesticity. (23) He commented that, by establishing the band, Crawshay had 'provided a rational and refined amusement for classes whose leisure time would otherwise probably have been less creditably spent'. (24) In 1859, an anonymous writer in another Dickens periodical, All the Year Round, described a band contest which took place at Lofthouse in Yorkshire. This writer offered a less



(25) [Anon.] 1859, p68.

(26) Rose 1895, pxiii.

(27) Ibid., pxii.

idealised view of the impact of banding on the manners and morals of the working class:

I do not pretend to say, that because Ah, che la morte! is blown upon a Yorkshire trumpet, fighting is altogether a stranger to Yorkshire fists, but I think that the man who conducts the melodies of Bellini... is not likely to bite off his neighbour's ear, or to gouge out his neighbour's eye, and is very likely to have a humanising influence on some of his less cultivated brethren, besides.(25)

The view that banding could be a respectable, rational recreation persisted into the late nineteenth century. In 1895, Algernon Rose stated (in his book, Talks with Bandsmen) that the moral effect of brass bands could not be overestimated. (26) He claimed that the playing of a brass instrument was an amusement which was well-suited to the working man as it 'begets habits of abstemiousness'. (27)

Therefore, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, various commentators increasingly associated music and banding in particular with 'rational recreation' and the promotion of respectable behaviour. These views eventually gained wider currency amongst the middle class in

(28) Gammon 1981, p83.

(29) Arnold 1875, px. Arnold was at some pains to deny that the idea of culture he was advocating was the preserve of any one class. (See *ibid.*, pp84-127.) Nevertheless, his view of culture was one more likely to appeal to the middle classes than to any other. He was particularly critical of the 'anarchic' tendencies which he observed in the culture of the working classes. (See *ibid.*, p52 et seq..)

Victorian Britain and were to be part of the explanation for their considerable support for bands. As will be seen, the assistance provided by the middle class was to be very important in the expansion of banding in the mid- and late-nineteenth century.

### iii) Status

Gammon has written (in his paper on the church bands) that the Victorian period witnessed the development of a kind of cultural stratification, whereby the culture of the elite was designated as superior to that of the poor. According to Gammon, the propagation of the idea of their cultural superiority was necessary to the elite in order to demonstrate to themselves and others that they were fit to rule; they could no longer rely on the deference which had underpinned social relations prior to the nineteenth century. (28)

There may be some truth in this view. Matthew Arnold, in his influential Culture and Anarchy (published in 1869) was upholding a view of culture which would appeal to the educated middle classes, the idea that the study of culture involved 'the best which has been thought and said in the world'. (29) It will be noticed that the hierarchies of music which follow in this section give low

(30) Arnold 1875, p71.

(31) Mainzer 1848, p70.



status to the musical institutions and music of the working classes when compared with the musical institutions and music of their social superiors.

However, cultural hierarchies did not simply represent attempts to legitimate the dominance of the elite. Arnold upheld as 'culture' those things which, he claimed, tended towards human perfection; those which did not, Arnold stated, were not properly called 'culture'.

(30) Hierarchies of culture were not only structured to give high status to the culture of the elite; they were also structured by many Victorian writers' concern to promote morality, a concern affected by a desire to ensure social controls and stability as well as the need for them to justify their consumption of culture to themselves. The highest levels of the cultural hierarchy were allotted to allegedly morally 'improving' material and institutions. The lowest status was assigned to cultural forms which, it appeared, did not have such effects - even when some of these were favoured by the middle classes themselves.

In music, the highest status was generally reserved for sacred music for choir and orchestra - Mainzer stated that this type of music enjoyed 'glorious supremacy over the humbler divisions of the art'. (31) The most respected composer of all was Handel, although the ascendancy of Handel was to be challenged as Bach's choral music became more widely known in the late

(32) Temperley 1936, p13.

(33) Haweis 1898, p57.

(34) Ibid., p53.

nineteenth century. (32) Sacred music for choir and orchestra could be most easily associated with a morally improving effect as it made use of biblical texts. Moreover, sacred pieces for choir and orchestra had a double-pronged impact on the listener; their effect was both verbal and musical.

Beneath sacred items in the musical hierarchy were symphonic and operatic music. There was some dispute over the standing of the various composers and compositions. However, status was allocated on the basis of the perceived moral effect of the music. Haweis, justifying his opinion that the music of Beethoven was superior to Italian music, wrote that Beethoven's music created a balanced and restrained emotional state in the listener. (33) Italian music was, according to Haweis, self-indulgent and promoted self-indulgence. 'It is not good', he wrote, 'to be constantly dissolved in a state of love-melancholy, full of the languor of passion without its real spirit - but that is what Italian music aims at'. (34)

The lowest position in the musical hierarchy was occupied by the lighter forms of music. This was justified by referring to the absence of moral content in such music. Thus, Mainzer defined the lowest 'sphere' of music as including part songs, glees, duets and airs with variations, stating that this lowest sphere 'has no aim

(35) Mainzer 1848, pp69-70.

(36) Hogarth 1838, p273.

(37) Quoted in Howkins 1973, p32.

(38) The British Bandsman and Orchestral Times, October 1889, p10.



than to reach the ear, to please, to charm it, to amuse for a moment, and then to pass hence with the same breath of air which brought it'. (35) Some music in this category could even be morally harmful; Hogarth stated that 'Music may sometimes be the handmaid of debauchery' and observed that 'Bacchanalian songs and glees may heighten the riot of a dissolute party'. (36)

This hierarchy of music, which defined a kind of musical respectability, was probably the reason why the lighter repertoire played by bands was subjected to such fierce criticism by some critics in the late nineteenth century. Instead of lighter pieces, bands were urged to play 'art' music. Howkins mentions an early example of this in his Whitsun in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Oxfordshire. A critic writing in Jackson's Oxford Journal in 1852 complained that bands from Shipton-under-Wychwood and Stow-on-the-Wold played a 'commonplace' repertoire and suggested that bands made greater use of arrangements of oratorio choruses in their programmes. (37) In 1889, an anonymous writer in The British Bandsman criticised the lightness of band music, complaining of the 'glut of feeble evanescent emanations in the form of Polkas, Schottisches, Quadrilles, & c., from musical nonentities, that sickens and surfeits the true musician'. (38) The writer called for more performances of 'good music, selected from the



(39) The British Bandsman and Orchestral Times, October 1889, p11.

(40) Ibid., October 1890, p295.

(41) The Times, Saturday 20 May 1899, p5.

(42) Quoted in Russell 1983, p109.

works of our earlier and modern master-composers'. (39) A year later, an article in the same periodical by C.A. Lawrence complained about the 'poor class' of music played by some bands, singling out polkas and waltzes for particular criticism. He stated that the most important improvement bands could make would be to make use of 'more selections from the classical masters'. (40)

However, not all light music was attacked by the critics. For instance, The Times, discussing the concert for the press given by the London County Council park bands at the start of the 1899 season, stated that 'the march "Galatea", by Mr. Miller, is a decidedly meritorious and taking piece of work'. (41)

Another musical hierarchy seems to have existed in the minds of critics in the late Victorian period. In this, brass bands were seen as of lesser worth than military (brass and wind) bands, which were, in turn, subordinate to orchestras. Russell (in his paper on popular music in the West Yorkshire textile districts) quotes the remarks made in 1868 by a contributor to the Yorkshire Orchestra. These included the comment that all persons who admired brass bands were to be seen as 'possessing a primitive taste' and the hope that 'the day is not far distant when it [brass band music] will cease to exist and be looked upon as a barbarism of the past'. (42) This is the earliest example I have encountered of

(43) The article was mentioned by Rose 1895, ppixiii-xv and by George Bowles in his short essay 'Relative Value of Instrumental Bands' (The British Bandsman and Orchestral Times, May 1889, pp174-5).

(44) Curwen 1887, p243.

(45) See, for example, The British Bandsman and Orchestral Times, May 1889, pp174-5, which accepted Curwen's hierarchy (with some reservations); *ibid.*, October 1890, p295, which agreed that brass bands were of inferior status to military bands; The British Musician, March 1894, p63, which stated that wind bands were superior to brass bands; *ibid.*, January 1895, p1, which gave the hierarchy of musical ensembles as (in ascending order) fife and drum bands, brass bands, military bands, orchestras and choir combined with orchestra. The language of those espousing this hierarchy may have been touched by Darwinism; the use of words such as 'primitive' and the idea of band music evolving towards a better, 'higher' form of music-making might suggest this.

(46) Laurence 1981 vol. I, pp756-7.

(47) Curwen *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*.

(48) Rose *op. cit.*, pp153-4.



bands being allocated low status and being depicted as the future victims of progress.

In 1887, an article entitled 'The Progress of Popular Music' appeared in the Contemporary Review. The article was by John Spencer Curwen, principal of the Tonic Sol-fa College, and appears to have been quite influential. (43) Curwen predicted that brass bands would be superseded by military bands as popular taste improved. Curwen also envisaged that military bands would ultimately be replaced by orchestras as the musicality of the public increased. (44) This hierarchy seems to have been present in much of the writing on bands published in the late nineteenth century. (45) George Bernard Shaw was taking up a characteristically lonely position when he asserted that 'There is no artistic limit to the ambition of a wind band: it may discourse as fine music as any orchestra, and in as worthy a manner'. (46)

Critics urged reform on brass bands, recommending that they improve their status by employing other wind instruments as well as brass. Curwen's article recommended 'the addition of flutes, clarionets, oboes, & c.' to the brass band. (47) Rose suggested in 1895 that brass bands made use of saxophones in order to improve their artistic standing. (48) In 1896, Lieutenant S.C. Griffiths, director of music at the Royal Military School of Music, Kneller Hall, agreed with Rose's suggestion, stating that

(49) Griffiths 1896, p15.

(50) Curwen 1887, p243.

(51) Rose 1895, p155.



a quartet of saxophones would be 'a grand acquisition' for the brass band. (49)

The low position of bands in the hierarchy of ensembles may have been the consequence of the low status of much of the band repertoire. However, another factor in the assignation of low status to brass bands was the critics' dislike of the extremes of volume which these ensembles could produce. Curwen advocated that brass bands make use of other wind instruments to 'tone down their blare' (50); Rose claimed that the addition of saxophones would reduce the stridency of some bands. (51) Brass bands were often associated with producing oppressively loud sounds, although this could sometimes cause amusement rather than annoyance. Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper began its report of the 1860 Crystal Palace brass band contest in this way:

This brazen affair... may be said to have caused great sensation. Thousands of ears are still ringing with the clangour of the thousands of brass instruments, and never were the pleasant woods of Penge so frightened out of their propriety. It is said that there was not a single twitterer but flew affrighted from their leafy shades; and trumpet-tongued Rumour asserts that not a single person who listened

(52) Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, Sunday 15 July 1860 (1st ed.), p1.

(53) Rose 1895, p155.

to the first day's performance ventured upon a second experiment, and that the ear hospital has been since inundated with out-patients.  
(52)

It may be that the exuberance and volume of the music of nineteenth-century brass bands was in conflict with the ideals of discipline and self-control which some commentators intended music to encourage.

A further justification for regarding brass bands as having lower status than other ensembles and for suggesting that they make use of other instruments was that brass bands had a limited range of tone colours at their disposal. Rose proposed the addition of other wind instruments to the brass band, stating that 'a variety of instruments of different tone-character, has twice the artistic worth of a Brass Band constituted purely of saxhorns'. (53) In nineteenth-century 'art' music, various composers such as Berlioz and Wagner were experimenting with new tone colours and seeking to expand the expressive possibilities of the orchestra by adding new instruments. It is possible that the emphasis upon variety of tone colour amongst critics of the brass band was related to this.

One other justification for the inferiority of the

(54) The British Bandsman and Orchestral Times, October 1890, p295.

(55) Ehrlich 1985, pp126-130.

(56) Russell 1987, pp4-5.



brass band was heard. In 1890, C.A. Lawrence agreed with the view that the brass band was 'not so good as a military band' and stated that one reason for this was that 'the brass band, pure and simple, is composed of amateurs, whilst the military band is in most cases composed of professionals'. (54) The idea that an amateur ensemble was inferior to a professional one may have received some stimulus in the late nineteenth century as the result of a slow rise in the status of the professional musician, assisted by the efforts of organisations such as the Society of Professional Musicians (later the Incorporated Society of Musicians), which was founded in 1882. (55)

Russell (in his Popular music in England) has argued that a low valuation of working-class musical achievement by the musical 'establishment' was particularly pronounced in the period before 1875 and that this attitude persisted with regard to bands until the inter-war years. (56) However, it should be clear from this and the preceding chapters that the mid-nineteenth century actually witnessed a change in the valuation of bands by musical commentators. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, little distinction appears to have been made between the statuses of the various types of ensemble and repertoire. The lack of difference in the status of the various types of ensemble was reflected in the way in



(57) For instance, the ensemble consisting of strings, woodwind, brass and percussion which was employed by the impresario Louis Jullien in the mid-nineteenth century was known as 'Jullien's band'.

(58) The British Bandsman, 15 January 1888, p73.

(59) The British Bandsman and Orchestral Times, February 1890, p97. Indeed, Cope later claimed that The British Bandsman was established in order to raise the status of bands. (See Hailstone 1987, p11.)

which contemporaries failed to use nouns which distinguished the various types of ensemble. The word 'band' had a much less precise meaning even than it has today and was commonly used to refer to a variety of ensembles, including brass bands, wind bands and orchestras. (57) It has been shown in the first part of this thesis that musical enthusiasts listened to concert programmes which included a mixture of what were later to be termed examples of 'high' and 'low' culture. The assigning of different statuses to the various types of ensemble and repertoire was a practice which only seems to have gained currency in the middle of the nineteenth century. As a result of this, bands and band music came to be seen as possessing low status.

It is fairly clear that some late Victorian musicians and critics saw little musical value in bands. In 1888, Samuel Cope, editor of The British Bandsman, complained that bands were 'slightingly thought of by those responsible or solicitous for the prestige of England as a musical nation'. (58) This was a persistent theme in Cope's writings; two years later he lamented the 'silent contempt with which wind instrument organisations are treated by the musical press'. (59) There is certainly a fair amount of evidence to support Cope's view that sections of the musical establishment took little notice of bands and probably thought of them

(60) The Musical Times, 1 June 1885, p318.

(61) The Times did not report the Belle Vue contests at all. The Musical Times referred to brass band competitions at Belle Vue on one occasion (1 August 1855, p92) and to reed band competitions there in two reports (15 July 1854, p137 and 1 August 1855, p92).

(62) Elliot 1931, p30.

(63) See Herbert 1990. The piece was composed and arranged for brass band by Parry, who was Professor of Music at University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.

(64) Russell 1987, p5.

(65) Kappey 1890, pp463-473.

as unimportant. For instance, a writer in The Musical Times, commenting upon the prospect of band contests in London in 1885, remarked that 'they cannot be of any real musical interest'. (60) Although both The Times and The Musical Times printed articles extolling the virtues of bands, there is hardly any mention in either paper of the great brass band competitions which took place at Belle Vue, Manchester, from 1853 onwards. (61) Even in the 1930s, J.H. Elliot could complain with some justice that brass bands were 'Ignored by the vast majority of cultivated musicians'. (62) Only a single original work for military or brass band written by an eminent Victorian composer (Joseph Parry's Tydfil Overture (63)) has been found; this may also indicate that bands were seen as being of little musical importance by some composers.

However, while bands tended to be assigned low status by most Victorian commentators, they were seen in some quarters - perhaps inconsistently - as having great significance for the musical future of the country. Russell's implication that Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians ignored brass bands up to and including 1927 is inaccurate. (64) The first edition of the dictionary (published in 1890) contained a long article by the antiquarian and eminent military bandmaster, J.A. Kappey, under the heading 'Wind-Band'. (65) In this, there was a section on brass bands, which contained an



- (66) Kappey 1890, pp471-2.
- (67) Ibid., p471.
- (68) The Times, Saturday 20 May 1899, p5.
- (69) Ibid., Wednesday 2 September 1896, p5.
- (70) Ibid., Monday 29 September 1902, p11.



interesting account of the Crystal Palace brass band contests of 1860, at which the author was an adjudicator.

(66) Kappey wrote that, in comparison to 'high' art, brass bands were 'of no account', but stated that when 'viewed as a popular agent for the improvement of the musical taste of the people, they are of great importance'. (67) Other commentators saw bands as providing a good musical grounding for working people. The Times commented in 1899 that the repertoire employed by the park bands of the London County Council was a 'means of forming a groundwork upon which the musical education of the multitude may best be carried on'. (68) Presenting the prizes at a band contest held at Hawarden in 1896, Gladstone referred to the musical progress he considered had been made during the previous fifty years and congratulated brass bands for their 'important contribution' to it. (69)

Bands were perceived as suited to providing a musical grounding for the masses because the instruments of the brass band in particular were seen as well-adapted for the use of working men, whose hands had been coarsened by manual work. The Times commented in 1902 that it was 'hardly to be expected' that 'the working man should learn to suit his stubborn fingers to the violin, at any rate with any success'. However, with the brass instruments, the critic noted that 'the case is different'. (70) Also, it was recognised that outdoor band performances could

(71) See The Orchestral Times and Bandsman, January 1891, pp5-6.

(72) The British Bandsman, September 1887, p5.

reach large numbers of people at little cost. (71)

Bands were also perceived as important because their existence was evidence of the vigour of English musical life. The presence of large numbers of bands was seen by some commentators as giving the lie to the view held by some critics at home and abroad that the English lived in a 'land without music'. The educator and journalist, E.H. Turpin, wrote in 1887 that

The bandsman is doing national work, inasmuch as he is distinctly helping to advance the progress of music as a national art. It has been pointed out that the really musical nation is not that which can boast of having the most key-board instruments and players, but that which can prove the possession of the largest number of efficient bands. (72)

Pointing to the flourishing of popular music, the English could not only turn aside the 'land without music' jibe; they could even claim musical superiority over other countries. The Times, discussing the prospect of contests for brass bands and choirs taking place at the International Inventions Exhibition of 1885, boasted that these competitions

(73) The Times, Tuesday 17 February 1885, p8.



are expected to show a standard of popular musical culture at least equal to that of the French "orpheonistes" and "fanfares" and, at any rate, greatly superior to the terrible visitation which the country of Beethoven sends to our shores in the shape of the typical German band. (73)

The projection of the English as musically superior was in tune with the contemporary assumption of British pre-eminence which was to be present implicitly and explicitly in public discussion of other matters, such as military or international affairs.

It remains to examine the prescriptions for reform which were made by many commentators, particularly when they were discussing brass bands. It will be remembered that, from the mid-nineteenth century, brass bands were urged to make use of woodwind instruments and saxophones. Also, critics insisted that bands in general should play less light music and more items drawn from the 'art' music repertoire. Commentators were urging major changes upon bands; if bands were to conform to the prescriptions of reformers, new music and (in some cases) new instruments would have to be purchased and learnt at the cost of considerable expenditure of time and money. Furthermore,



(74) Laurence 1981, vol. I, p274.

in urging bands to play more 'art' music, critics were proposing a reform which, at the very least, had implications for the organisation of bands. It has already been shown that bands in the early nineteenth century were informal organisations, meeting together infrequently and playing a technically undemanding repertoire. If bands were to play a repertoire which contained difficult pieces of 'art' music, they would have to practise together more frequently in order to be able to cope with the technical demands of the music. There was also an assumption by some critics that bands' audiences were receptive to these changes. George Bernard Shaw, writing in 1885, criticised the low calibre of the music played by military bands and claimed that such music could 'afford small satisfaction to the masses who crave for symphonies, and are curious concerning the three manners of Beethoven'. (74) Both the scale of the changes required of bandsmen and the assessment of the degree of receptiveness of the public may be said to have been rather unrealistic.

No doubt, schemes for the reform of bands were unrealistic partly because many of the musicians, critics and others who devised them had little contact with bands and therefore did not understand them fully. Few prominent musicians or critics had very close connections with bands. In his youth, the composer Sir Arthur Sullivan played the bass drum in

- (75) See The British Musician, August 1893, pp197-9 for an account of the history of the Broadwood band.
- (76) See The Times, Monday 22 January 1900, p7.
- (77) Ibid., Monday 23 July 1900, p8.
- (78) Grove 1940, p308.
- (79) See Russell and Elliot 1936, p175.
- (80) Laurence 1981, vol. II, p518.

the Broadwood volunteer band, which was conducted by his father, Thomas, an instructor at Kneller Hall. (75) In 1900, Sullivan conducted the great 'Absent-minded Beggar' massed band concert held at the Albert Hall in January 1900. (76) Later that year, Sullivan and August Manns (conductor of the Crystal Palace orchestra) were featured as conductors of the massed band concert which followed the great brass band competition organised by J.H. Iles at the Crystal Palace. (77) As a young man, Manns had been a clarinetist and military bandmaster in Germany and had been appointed sub-conductor of the Crystal Palace wind band in 1854. (78) Much of the experience of bands acquired by Sullivan and Manns was picked up in their youth. Sullivan certainly does not appear to have maintained close contacts with the band world; he was evidently astonished to discover the level of proficiency attained by the brass bands performing at the 'Absent-minded Beggar' concert of 1900. (79) Also, while Sullivan and Manns were well-respected figures, they were probably more significant as practical musicians than as formers of critical opinion.

George Bernard Shaw, who stated that his father had been a trombonist in a band, (80) was to maintain a greater interest in bands and working-class music than many Victorian critics; it will already be clear that a number of his musical writings made reference to bands.

(81) See Laurence 1981, vol. III, pp588-594.

(82) Taylor 1979, p142.

(83) The Musical Times, 1 June 1862, p264. At this time, Sullivan was beginning to establish himself as a composer. Hallé was famous as one of the most popular piano virtuosi of his time, and was becoming known as a conductor in both London and Manchester. Sainton was leader of the orchestra of the Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden and had led the Queen's private band. His wife, Charlotte Dolby, was a contralto soloist who was the co-dedicatee of Mendelssohn's Six Songs. Charles Santley was a singer who was in demand for oratorio and operatic roles.



However, some of his most important contacts with the banding world had yet to be made when Victoria's reign came to an end. In 1906, Shaw was to be asked to analyse the performance of some Salvation Army bands. (81) Years later, he was to be the dedicatee of Elgar's only work for brass band, Severn Suite, which Shaw heard performed at the Crystal Palace championships of 1930. (82)

Other prominent musicians and critics only seem to have had occasional contacts with the banding world. These took place in a number of ways. A few of the leading musicians of the day performed at concerts featuring bands. For instance, a concert given by the Broadwood band at the St. James's Hall in 1862 included appearances by a number of piano soloists, including Sullivan and Charles Hallé. Other instrumentalists took part, among them the violinist P.P.C. Sainton. The concert also featured a number of pieces performed by professional singers, including the baritone Charles Santley and the contralto Charlotte Dolby. (83)

Bands were also in attendance on ceremonial occasions. Samson Fox's Leeds Forge band played for the opening of the Royal College of Music in May 1883. The musicians and critics who were present were astonished at the high standard of the band's playing - perhaps this was an indication of the limitations of their experience of the brass band world. Ten years later, Samuel Cope was to

- (84) The British Musician, August 1893, p204.
- (85) The Times, Monday 8 July 1872, p7.
- (86) The Musical Times, 1 August 1875, p171.

refer to this occasion:

When Mr. Sampson [sic] Fox's Leeds Forge Band rendered a few pieces in London a short time ago, on the opening of the Royal College of Music, their playing was admitted to be "a revelation" to critics, composers and others who heard them. I was assured by one who was present, that so novel was the effect, it was not realised for some time that the performance was that of a brass band. (84)

Members of the musical establishment also came across bands when adjudicating at musical festivals, which sometimes involved band contests. The adjudicators for the band contests held at the Crystal Palace as part of the National Music Meetings of 1872, 1873 and 1875 included a number of prominent musicians; in 1872, the adjudicators of the contest for volunteer bands included Sir Julius Benedict - a well-known conductor who had composed the popular opera The Lily of Killarney - and W.G. Cusins, the Master of the Queen's Musick. (85) In 1875, the judges of the brass band competition included Luigi Arditi, who enjoyed international renown as an operatic conductor. (86) Prominent musicians also adjudicated elsewhere. The composer Sir George Macfarren,

(87) The Times, Tuesday 9 August 1883, p3.

(88) Russell 1987, p5. Indeed, it will become clear in later chapters that brass bands were not only found in the industrial areas.

principal of the Royal Academy of Music and Professor of Music at Cambridge, was the judge at the band contest held at the Cardiff Eisteddfod of 1883. (87)

Therefore, although there were contacts between the Victorian musical establishment and bands, in most cases these were infrequent and not particularly close. These limitations of the experience of prominent musicians and critics stood in the way of their understanding bands and their potential for change.

Part of the explanation for critics' lack of experience of the band world may be that many commentators considered that bands were of little importance. However, the detachment of those professing concern for the musical future of the country from what Russell has described as 'arguably the major vehicle for popular musical education in industrial England' (88) may also have been an aspect of the social segregation which was to affect the development of other forms of rational recreation. The middle and lower classes were gradually becoming more separate in the later nineteenth century. With the appearance of middle-class suburbs around the edges of the towns and cities, the classes were geographically segregated. Divisions between the classes were deepened by growing middle-class fears that the increasing prosperity of the working class threatened to erode class



(89) See Bailey 1978, pp103-5.

(90) Ibid., pp131-4.

(91) See Harrison 1967, p99.

differences. (89) Segregation was strengthened further by the development of class-specific recreational facilities (such as sports clubs) by the middle classes. (90) The musical establishment and bands therefore stood on opposite sides of a social chasm which was, in some respects, yawning wider and wider in the late nineteenth century.

#### iv) Bands and Religion

Although banding was often regarded as 'rational recreation', this was not always the case. In the context of two religious issues - Sunday observance and, in the late nineteenth century, the Salvation Army - there was some dispute about the respectability of bands.

The main sabbatarian organisations - the Lord's Day Observance Society (or L.D.O.S., established 1831) and its offshoot, the Working Men's Lord's Day Rest Association - asserted that Sunday was a day of rest, on which there should be few activities, other than religious observance. Like many other reformers of popular recreation, they were predominantly Evangelical in outlook. (91) However, Sunday observance was not only a means of building a more religious nation as an end in itself. It was particularly attractive because it offered solutions to contemporary

(92) Harrison 1965, p221.

(93) See *ibid.*, p222 and Harrison 1967, pp103-4.

(94) See, for instance, Domville's defence of the Sunday band at Eastbourne - Domville 1856, p6.

(95) See, for example, [Sala] 1855, p262.

social problems to the middle and the working classes. For the middle classes, religious observance would help to create a more amenable working class; sabbatarians were promoting the social controls which religion could offer. It was also a means of preventing revolution. It was considered by some that revolution struck the French as divine retribution for their godlessness. It was thought that Britain might avoid similar punishment if the Sabbath was observed. (92)

Sabbatarianism also appealed to some working people. Restrictions on Sunday activities offered some relief for people in occupations which demanded extremely long hours, such as shop assistants, cabmen, railway workers or postmen. (93)

In the mid-nineteenth century, the view that bands represented a form of recreation which tended to improve the morality of the working classes and attract them away from less reputable amusements led to the promotion of band performances in the parks on Sundays. Sunday was, for many working men, the only day in the week on which they had the leisure to hear bands. (94) Also, because Sunday was the only day on which working men were not occupied by work, it was considered to be the day on which they were most likely to be seduced by allegedly undesirable diversions. (95) However, the Sunday bands were not only promoted as agencies of social control; the arguments used

(96) [Sala] 1855, p261.

(97) Domville 1856, pp5-6.



in their favour were also similar to those used by anti-sabbatarians in general. Secularists such as the members of the National Sunday League and some of the more liberal churchmen supported Sunday bands in order to challenge what was seen as an unduly restrictive attitude to the Sabbath. Others perceived the Sunday band issue as encapsulating important questions of social justice. George Augustus Sala, writing in Household Words, a periodical edited by the radical Charles Dickens, pointed out that there was little complaint about Sunday music for the wealthy but that there was much opposition to music for 'the tens of thousands of overworked humanity'. (96) Domville, defending the Sunday band he had promoted at Eastbourne, denied that his public notices relating to the band had intended to stir up antagonism between rich and poor by drawing attention to the fact that the wealthy had a great deal more leisure time than the working classes. Nevertheless, Domville did assert that it was unfair to attempt to restrict the working classes' enjoyment of their single day of freedom from work. (97)

The sabbatarians opposed the Sunday bands with great ferocity. The main part of the sabbatarian case rested on the view that bands (or most other activities, for that matter) were inappropriate on Sundays. In 1856, the sabbatarian journalist and politician, Edward Baines, published a pamphlet, On the Performance of Military Bands in the Parks of London on Sundays, setting out the

(98) Baines 1856, p8.

(99) Ibid., loc. cit..

(100) Ibid., pp10-11.

(101) Ibid., p7.

(102) The Times, Wednesday 8 March 1882, p12.

sabbatarian position on the Sunday bands. Baines stated that performances of military music were 'wholly out of accordance with the sacred repose of the Sabbath'. (98) He claimed that the bands would attract people away from church and from Sunday school. (99) Also, he considered that the Sunday bands were establishing a precedent which was the beginning of a slippery slope leading to the eventual secularisation of the sabbath. (100) However, Baines did not confine himself to criticising bands for interfering with Sunday observance. He also widened the issue by pointing out that the bands attracted large crowds, which allegedly threatened public order. 'There may be many respectable persons in such a crowd', Baines wrote, 'but there are sure to be great numbers of vicious persons of both sexes, who come to seduce the young and unsuspecting'. (101) A similar view was expressed nearly thirty years later, when a sabbatarian deputation waited upon G.J. Shaw-Lefevre (First Commissioner of Works) to protest about the Sunday bands organised by the National Sunday League. One of the deputation, Mr. Weylland, said 'We think the Sunday bands bring together great masses of people, which in such a city as this is against good government'. (102)

However, the anti-sabbatarians painted a much less frightening picture of the crowds listening to the Sunday

(103) Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, Sunday 13 September 1857  
(1st ed.), p7.

(104) Ibid., Sunday 2 September 1860 (1st ed.), p6.

(105) Harrison 1965, p241.

(106) See, for example, The British Bandsman, 15 January  
1888, pp83-4, which refers to the use of an old statute  
by the L.D.O.S. to prevent indoor concerts on Sundays.

bands; Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, which supported the activities of the National Sunday League, claimed in 1857 that 'During the past season no person has been apprehended for improper conduct, nor one complaint been made'. (103) Three years later, the same paper drew attention to the temporary cessation of a Sunday band concert in Regent's Park which had taken place in order to allow the audience to observe a striking 'sunset'. (104)

The impact of sabbatarianism was twofold. Firstly, sabbatarian pressure was successful in securing the prohibition or restriction of Sunday bands in some areas. The attempt by Sir Benjamin Hall, the First Commissioner of Works, to allow military bands to play in the parks of London on Sundays failed in 1856, as the result of fierce opposition from the L.D.O.S. and its supporters, despite backing for the bands from both Palmerston and Queen Victoria. (105) The L.D.O.S. also succeeded in preventing a number of other Sunday band concerts later in the century. (106)

The influence of the sabbatarians was not entirely negative. For instance, the Sunday band controversy of 1855-6 began a series of Sunday band concerts which took place each summer in the parks of London, funded by the National Sunday League. The importance of the bands of the League should not be underestimated. The Sunday concerts were still running on Sunday 12 August 1900. On this day,



(107) See Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, Sunday 12 August 1900 (5th ed.), p2. Sunday bands existed elsewhere in southern England; for instance, performances by the Caversham (near Reading) Sunday band were being advertised in 1858. (Berkshire Chronicle, Saturday 22 May 1858, p4.)

(108) See Boon 1978, p1 et seq..

(109) Ibid., p15.

(110) Ibid., pp13-14.

(111) Ibid., p152.

(112) Ibid., p16.

the League advertised that band concerts would take place at no less than six London parks. (107)

The respectability of bands was also called into question in connection with one other religious matter: the Salvation Army. The earliest salvationist band seems to have been formed from the members of the Fry family in Salisbury in 1878, at a time when Booth's followers were still known as the Christian Missioners. (108) Many other bands were soon established; by 1883, there were 400 Salvation Army bands in Britain, according to the historian of salvationist music, Brindley Boon. (109) Although the salvationists used all sorts of instruments at first, including strings, (110) it had become normal by about 1900 for Salvation Army bands to be composed of only brass instruments. (111)

There were three types of Salvation Army band in the late nineteenth century. The first and largest group were those associated with a particular area - the corps bands. Some of the corps bands in southern England - such as Chalk Farm, Clapton Congress Hall and Regent Hall (all formed 1882) (112) - were to maintain reputations for musical excellence. Other bands were formed from the workers at Salvation Army headquarters in London. The Junior Staff band was formed in 1889 from office boys and clerks from the Victoria Street offices. In 1891, this band became known as the International Headquarters Staff

- (113) Boon 1978, pp29-30.
- (114) Ibid., p39.
- (115) Ibid., pp40-1.
- (116) See ibid., pp22-8.
- (117) See ibid., p29.
- (118) See Russell 1987, p169.
- (119) See Boon op. cit., p145 et seq.; p172 et seq..
- (120) Ibid., p150.
- (121) See King 1963, which includes (pp5-12) a description of the disturbances in Eastbourne in the 1890s by an eyewitness, Bandsman Walter Guy.

band. (113) A number of other headquarters bands were formed, but these were short-lived. The Home Office band (established 1891) only existed for 18 months. (114) The Trade Headquarters band was established in 1895 and disbanded in 1896. (115) The third and smallest category of salvationist bands comprised those bands which were composed of full-time players. The Household Troops band was formed in 1887 and toured nationally and internationally. It was disbanded in 1893. (116) A second Household Troops band also seems to have existed for some time. (117)

Of course, bands attached to religious organisations had existed before. However, the bands of the Salvation Army were unprecedented because they existed outside the mainstream of banding. (118) The salvationist bands were separate from their secular counterparts in a number of respects. The Salvation Army quickly developed facilities for producing its own instruments, uniforms and music. (119) The repertoire of salvationist bands was also restricted; until 1901, bands were only allowed to play music which was associated with hymns or salvationist songs. (120)

The growth of Salvation Army bands took place in spite of their persecution by mobs of 'roughs' and by the police. (121) It also occurred despite the hostility of a number of contemporary commentators, who often depicted

(122) The Musical Times, 1 October 1884, p577. See also  
ibid., 1 July 1889, p400.

(123) Punch, vol. XLVIII (1890), p45.



the Salvation Army bands as challenges to respectability. The salvationists were often accused of disturbing the Sabbath. In 1884, a writer in The Musical Times demanded to know why 'a respectable citizen, going quietly with his family to church on Sunday morning' should 'have his ears assailed by a band of these fanatics howling to the coarse accompaniment of a coarse band'. As well as creating a breach of the peace, it was claimed that Salvationist bands were using popular songs which had secular or even immoral associations. (122) It was also alleged that the Salvationists interfered with the worship of other groups. A humorous article in Punch in 1890 stated that the Salvation Army were guilty of 'disturbing the peaceful worship of other denominations'. In addition, the writer stated that they were frightening omnibus horses, causing obstructions and 'leading up to some local excitement culminating in a possible riot'. (123)

In the case of both the Salvation Army and the Sunday question, bands attracted criticism because they were seen as interfering with religion and threatening public order. From the perspective of the opponents of the Salvation Army and from the viewpoint of the L.D.O.S., bands were not always agencies for the social control of the working classes; nor were they always respectable. In Victorian Britain, the definition of respectability varied somewhat from one person to another and from one situation

to another. Just as the respectability of certain other leisure activities was the subject of dispute, the respectability of bands could also be a controversial subject for some commentators, particularly where banding impinged upon religious issues.

## CHAPTER 5: BANDS IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

- i) Introduction
- ii) The backgrounds of bandsmen and their supporters
- iii) 'Respectable young men'? The motivation of bandsmen
- iv) The availability of chromatic brass instruments
- v) The promotion of band instruments
- vi) 'Enlivening the scene': The middle class and bands

(1) Punch, vol. IV (1843), frontispiece.

(2) Ibid., vol. XXIX (1855), p262.

(3) [Anon.] 1854.

## CHAPTER 5: BANDS IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

### i) Introduction

Although there is no statistical evidence on the subject, it is nevertheless impossible to avoid the impression that an expansion was taking place in the numbers of bands and bandsmen in southern England in the mid-nineteenth century. Punch, a periodical which was quick to make fun of new crazes, used the hideously distorted features of a brass player as a frontispiece in 1843. (1) Another picture - of Mr. Punch playing the ophicleide to his dog - appeared beneath the index to volume XXIX in 1855. (2) Bands became sufficiently prominent in mid-Victorian society for them to become part of the currency of political debate. An anonymous pamphlet (first published in 1853) had the title The Brass Band. A True and Succinct Account of the Rise, Progress, and Character, of this Celebrated Troupe, Instructed by the Best Italian Masters, Educated under the Care of the Jesuits, Patronized by the Conclave of Cardinals, and Blessed by the Pope. In it, the author likened the Irish contingent of MPs at Westminster to a brass band. (3)

Local evidence also indicates that the number of bands in southern England increased in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1844, an article in The Musical Times stated:



(4) The Musical Times, 1 July 1844, p15.

(5) Chamberlain [c.1929], p138. Chamberlain's date may be incorrect; Reading Temperance band could be the 'Teetotal Band' referred to above.

(6) See Berkshire Chronicle, Saturday 1 December 1855, p4 - this is an advertisement announcing that a band was about to be established. See also *ibid.*, Saturday 21 June 1856, p5, which refers to the band's appointment of a conductor.

(7) *Ibid.*, Saturday 2 May 1857, p5.

(8) These were: i) the St. Austell Amateur Brass Band (1837) (The West Briton, Friday 1 December 1837, p[2]); ii) the St. Blazey Amateur Brass Band (probably 1838) (*ibid.*, Friday 20 April 1838, p[3]); iii) the Modbury band (July 1838) (DeRO 27/ Box 19/7b.)

(9) These were: i) Chacewater Amateur band (probably 1842 or 1843) (The West Briton, Friday 28 April 1843, p[2]); ii) St. Austell Sax Horn Band (probably late 1852 or early 1853) (*ibid.*, Friday 3 December 1852, p5); iii) Pascoe's Sax-Tuba Band (probably early 1850s) (*ibid.*, Friday 11 August 1854, p5); iv) Falmouth Sax-Tuba Band (probably 1855) (*ibid.*, Friday 4 January 1856, p5); v) A small brass band, composed of John Shapcott and his family, was formed, in Devon possibly in the late 1840s or early 1850s. The band, known as 'Shapcott and Sons', achieved 'some distinction throughout the country by their saxhorn performances'. (Hudson 1888, p281.)

Reading promises to become a most musical place. In addition to the "Reading Band", which has been long established, there is now the "Foundry Band" (of 25 instruments), "Williams's Band" (the workmen of an ironmongery and tin manufactory), the "Teetotal Band", the "Caversham [sic] Band", and others in course of training. (4)

More bands were formed in Reading in the early and mid-1850s. Chamberlain's history of music in Reading states that Reading Temperance band was formed in 1852. (5) Reading Amateur Brass Band was founded in late 1855 or early 1856. (6) In 1857, a wind band was established at Caversham House school. (7)

The evidence relating to Devon and Cornwall gives a similar picture of expansion. I have found references to the foundation of 3 bands in this area in the late 1830s. (8) At least 5 other bands were founded in this part of the country in the 1840s and 50s. (9) There were probably many more.

## ii) The Backgrounds of Bandsmen and their Supporters

Like their predecessors, bands in the mid-nineteenth century contained one or two individuals from the lower

- (10) See The West Briton, Friday 1 December 1837, p[2] and *ibid.*, Friday 20 April 1838, p[3].
- (11) See Cox 1937, p[2].
- (12) The West Briton, Friday 28 April 1843, p[2].
- (13) The Musical Times, 1 June 1847, p1.
- (14) The West Briton, Friday 3 November 1854, p5.
- (15) The Bristol Gazette, and Public Advertiser, Thursday 8 September 1859, p5. It is, of course, possible that the names of bands may not have reflected the background of their members.
- (16) The West Briton, Friday 4 January 1856, p5.

middle class. For instance, the teacher of the St. Austell and St. Blazey Amateur Brass Bands was Mr. Colless, a 'professor of music'. (10) The leader of Barfoot's Brass Band, which played in Blandford, Dorset, in 1839, was apparently John Barfoot, whose family were well-known in the area as musical instrument makers. (11)

Nevertheless, most bandsmen were from the working class. The Chacewater Amateur band was praised by The West Briton in 1843 as an encouraging example of recreation amongst the 'working classes'. (12) In 1847, The Musical Times stated that the band supported by the Great Western Railway at Swindon had been established for 'workmen'. (13) Banding seems to have been associated particularly with the upper levels of the working class. Some miners formed bands; a concert was given at St. Austell in 1854 by 'the Miners [sic] Sax-Tuba Band'. (14) Bandsmen were often artisans, or 'mechanics', as in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Bristol Mechanics' Total Abstinence band was in existence in 1859. (15) The Falmouth Sax-Tuba band was, according to a report which appeared in The West Briton in 1856, 'composed of young mechanics of the town'. (16)

The Falmouth Sax-Tuba band was not the only band which was described as being made up from young men. Numerous other references to bands in southern England in the mid-nineteenth century mention the youth of bandsmen.

- (17) The West Briton, Friday 1 December 1837, p[2].
- (18) Ibid., Friday 20 April 1855, p5.
- (19) Berkshire Chronicle, Saturday 11 October 1845, p[3].
- (20) Smith/[1], p16.
- (21) Gammon 1986, p122.
- (22) Reproduced in Peck 1983, p58. The evidence that many of the bandsmen were young men is significant because it suggests that one should not attach too great importance to the role of demobilised militia and volunteer bandsmen in bands of the mid-nineteenth century.



The St. Austell Amateur Brass Band was described in 1837 as being composed of 'several young men' from the town. (17) Mr. Edmonds, leader of the Penzance Amateur Brass Band in 1855 was described as 'youthful'. (18) The Berkshire Chronicle stated in 1845 that a high standard of playing was not to be expected from the Apollo Brass Band because it was 'composed of such young members'. (19) William Smith referred to the instrumentalists of the Witney band from Oxfordshire as 'young men'. (20) In 1839, it was announced that a band had been formed at Rotherfield (Sussex) from 'respectable young men' of the area. (21) It is not clear what was meant when bandsmen were described as 'young'. Pictorial evidence could give a slightly better idea of the age of bandsmen. However, few pictures of bands survive from this period. I have found only one photograph of a band from southern England; this shows the Swindon Mechanics' Institution band in about 1855. (22) It is difficult to ascertain the ages of the bandsmen in the picture; however, I have the impression that most of the players in the Swindon band were in their late teens or their twenties.

Those who provided financial support for bands came from a variety of backgrounds. Some bandsmen bought their own instruments and other necessities themselves. At Rotherfield in 1839, it was announced that the members of the new band had entered 'into a weekly subscription to

(23) Gammon 1986, p122.

(24) James 1936, p248.

(25) See DeRO Z7/Box 19/7b, which states that instruments and music were provided by the subscribers, although it appears that some individuals may have contributed towards the cost of their own instruments.

(26) See DeRO Z7/Box 19/7e, p[1].

(27) Ibid., loc. cit., which lists the subscribers present at a meeting held on 30 November 1838.

(28) The West Briton, Friday 3 December 1852, p5.

defray the expenses of purchasing music, books, etc'. (23)

In the late 1850s, the members of the Highworth Oddfellows' band were expected to pay for their own instruments. They also had to pay a subscription of 3d per week to cover the cost of uniforms, music and the band carriage. (24) However, most bands seem to have relied to some extent upon raising money by public subscription from the local community. Although there is no detailed evidence of the funding of bands in this way, it is probable that some working-class people made a small contribution. It is clear that a proportion of the money raised by public subscription came from the wealthier members of local society. In July 1838, a band was established at Modbury (Devon). At least part of the cost of instruments and music for the band was met by public subscription. (25) Among the subscribers were two clergymen, the Rev. K. G. Adams and the Rev. N. Oxenham. (26) At least 9 other individuals each contributed 5 shillings or more to the subscription fund; this would suggest that they were in at least lower middle-class occupations. (27) In 1852, it was announced that £52 had been raised by public subscription for a saxhorn band which was being established at St. Austell 'under the patronage of Sir J. S. Graves Sawle, Bart., and the principal inhabitants of the place'. (28) Members of various organisations - particularly temperance

(29) Smith/[1], p16.

(30) See Peck 1983, p58 et seq..

(31) Chamberlain [c.1929], p138. Anthony Corley, the historian of Huntley and Palmer, agrees; he states that there is no evidence of donations by the firm to Reading Temperance band, but it is probable that William Isaac Palmer, who was a strong supporter of temperance causes, supported the band from his own pocket. (Letter from A. Corley to author, dated 27 July 1988.) Trevor Herbert has drawn attention to the obscurity of the financing of another band which had connections with an industrial concern - the Cyfarthfa band of South Wales. (See Herbert 1988, pp64-5.)

(32) See Lee 1986, p32 (table 3.3).



societies - supported bands. For instance, Witney band, one of the better bands in southern England in the mid-nineteenth century, was established in connection with the local temperance society. (29)

A few industrialists in southern England financed factory bands. The 'Foundry Band' and 'Williams's Band' at Reading have already been mentioned. The Swindon Mechanics' Institute band received some funding from the Great Western Railway. (30) Chamberlain claims that the Reading Temperance band was not formally attached to the Huntley and Palmer biscuit factory in Reading, but received 'a large measure of support from the members of the Palmer family'. (31) I have the impression that industrial support for banding remained quite unusual in southern England in the mid-nineteenth century. It is also probable that even fewer factory bands were established in southern England than in the industrialised north. Much of the south - outside London and a few large towns - remained rural and agricultural in 1851, with a fairly small proportion of the population employed in manufacturing. (32) Also, Chapter 7 will show that there is a little evidence from the later nineteenth century that industrialists in the south were less interested in supporting bands than their northern counterparts.



(33) See Best 1971, pp283-4.

### iii) 'Respectable young men'? The motivation of bandmen

As banding was regarded by many middle-class commentators as a 'respectable' form of recreation, the expansion of banding in the mid-nineteenth century could be taken as evidence of the influence of the middle-class ideology of respectability on working people. In the 1830s and 40s in particular, there was certainly an intensification of efforts to encourage the development of respectable modes of behaviour and discourage the rowdy, sensual, drunken aspects of popular culture. The drive for the moral improvement of the lower orders involved the efforts of numerous journalists, educators, religious denominations and voluntary organisations. As Chapter 4 has shown, there was some disagreement over what constituted respectability, but it was recognised that, roughly speaking, it involved the cultivation of disciplined, moral behaviour. In practice this meant that, at the very least, the respectable man did not get drunk, avoided foul language, dressed tidily and maintained a respect for the law. (33) Respectability also implied independence; the respectable were expected to pay their own way and avoid relying upon charity. Independence demanded thrifty management of an individual's finances and was likely to be easier to maintain if a generally

- (34) Best 1971, pp279-282.
- (35) Ibid., p286.
- (36) See Crossick 1976, p306.
- (37) Gammon 1986, p122.
- (38) Smith/[1], p16.
- (39) Ibid., loc. cit..

respectable lifestyle was followed. (34)

The artisans - who formed a large proportion of bandsmen and their supporters - may have been particularly susceptible to campaigns to make them 'respectable'. Artisans - by virtue of their greater prosperity and literacy - were more likely than other working-class people to have access to newspapers and other channels of communication. Furthermore, respectability was potentially attractive to artisans. As the historian of mid-Victorian England, Geoffrey Best, has written, respectability was 'in the main an embracing of the established social order'. (35) In the mid-nineteenth century, many artisans had reason to support the social order; it will be seen that their standard of living was beginning to improve. Respectability could also serve to distinguish the artisans from the mass of the working class. (36)

The sources certainly refer to the respectability of bandsmen during this period; the founder members of the Rotherfield band were described in 1839 as 'respectable young men'. (37) William Smith, looking back over his time as a member of the Witney band, described the band as a 'consistent party of young men' and stated that he could not 'remember hearing an oath, or seeing one the worse for liquor while on duty'. (38) Smith also referred to the 'most gentlemanly manner' of Thomas Clarke, the band leader. (39)

(40) Peck 1983, p59.

(41) Ibid., loc. cit..

(42) Ibid., loc. cit..



Furthermore, various aspects of mid-nineteenth century banding may suggest that bandsmen had been influenced by the 'downward flow' of the ideology of respectability. Unlike some of the civilian wind bands of the early nineteenth century, bands in this period were often formalised organisations, expecting discipline and commitment from band members. The Swindon 'Mechanics' Institution band had a set of rules which show that regularity and punctuality in attending rehearsals were demanded. These rules included fines for absence from practice and for lateness. (40) Self-control in rehearsal was required; fines were laid down for players who spoke out of turn or played another's instrument. (41) Drunkenness was also discouraged; there was a heavy fine of 2 shillings for entering the band room while intoxicated and an even more severe penalty of 5 shillings for playing an instrument in a public house. (42) Thrift and independence were also expected from some mid-nineteenth century bandsmen; it has already been mentioned that the members of the Highworth Oddfellows' band in the 1850s had to find the money for their own instruments and were also obliged to pay weekly subscriptions. Some bands considered dress to be important and spent a great deal of money on military-style uniforms. The Witney band's set of uniforms - 'a Military Officers [sic] undress of blue cloth, trimmed with braid... with caps to match' cost them

(43) Smith/[1], p16.

(44) For example, The West Briton, Friday 10 June 1842, p[2] reports that 'the fine brass band from St. Mabyn' played during a tea party held to celebrate the 4th anniversary of the Truro Total Abstinence Society.

(45) For example, *ibid.*, Friday 19 May 1843 reports that 'The "Queens" brass band' played for a Sunday school treat organised by a Wesleyan Sunday school at Trebadannon, Cornwall.

(46) Smith/[1], p27.

(47) *Ibid.*, pp27-9.

(48) See Gammon 1986, pp263-301.

more than £40. (43)

There was also an air of respectability to some of the occasions upon which bands performed. Some bands played for events organised by other 'rational recreation' organisations. Bands played at events organised by temperance societies (44) and Sunday schools. (45) They also played for local patriotic celebrations; Smith stated that the Witney band 'were always at the command of the Town for all popular festivals free of charge'. (46) He gave an account of the band playing on one such occasion - the celebrations in Witney which followed the end of the Crimean war in 1856. (47)

There is also evidence that bandsmen were affected by other, related influences from 'above', which were tending towards the reshaping of working-class music-making. Gammon's thesis on popular music in rural Sussex has shown that working people were also being presented with new models of music-making in the mid-nineteenth century. Musical educators and middle-class musicians (and, later, bands themselves) were exemplars of a more formal type of musical activity which involved (amongst other things) concerts and the use of 'art' music. (48) It has already been shown that certain writers were seeking to encourage working-class performances of 'art' music, stating that such pieces were morally uplifting. This formal model of musical activity was in contrast to the

(43) Smith/[1], p16.

(44) For example, The West Briton, Friday 10 June 1842, p[2] reports that 'the fine brass band from St. Mabyn' played during a tea party held to celebrate the 4th anniversary of the Truro Total Abstinence Society.

(45) For example, *ibid.*, Friday 19 May 1843 reports that 'The "Queens" brass band' played for a Sunday school treat organised by a Wesleyan Sunday school at Trebadannon, Cornwall.

(46) Smith/[1], p27.

(47) *Ibid.*, pp27-9.

(48) See Gammon 1986, pp263-301.

more than £40. (43)

There was also an air of respectability to some of the occasions upon which bands performed. Some bands played for events organised by other 'rational recreation' organisations. Bands played at events organised by temperance societies (44) and Sunday schools. (45) They also played for local patriotic celebrations; Smith stated that the Witney band 'were always at the command of the Town for all popular festivals free of charge'. (46) He gave an account of the band playing on one such occasion - the celebrations in Witney which followed the end of the Crimean war in 1856. (47)

There is also evidence that bandsmen were affected by other, related influences from 'above', which were tending towards the reshaping of working-class music-making. Gammon's thesis on popular music in rural Sussex has shown that working people were also being presented with new models of music-making in the mid-nineteenth century. Musical educators and middle-class musicians (and, later, bands themselves) were exemplars of a more formal type of musical activity which involved (amongst other things) concerts and the use of 'art' music. (48) It has already been shown that certain writers were seeking to encourage working-class performances of 'art' music, stating that such pieces were morally uplifting. This formal model of musical activity was in contrast to the



- (49) Berkshire Chronicle, Saturday 11 October 1845, p[3].
- (50) Smith/[1], pp23-4.
- (51) See Peck 1983, p58.
- (52) The West Briton, Friday 3 November 1854, p5.
- (53) See, for example, *ibid.*, Friday 8 April 1853, p8 for an account of a concert by the band at Truro Assembly room and for references to concerts by the Truro band at Redruth town hall and elsewhere. See also the report of a concert which featured the band in 1854, which took place at Truro Assembly room. (*Ibid.*, Friday 14 April 1854, p5.)

informality of the music-making of some of the amateur bands of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

There is evidence that these musical prescriptions of middle-class performers and writers had some influence upon bandsmen. Although concerts by amateur wind bands were not unknown in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, such events were comparatively rare. However, by the mid-nineteenth century, many band concerts were taking place in southern England. Most of these were held outdoors, such as the concerts given by the Berkshire militia band in Reading. There is also evidence that a few indoor band performances were taking place by the mid-1840s. In October 1845, it was announced that the Apollo Brass band were to hold a 'tea party and soiree' in the Auction Rooms, Bridge Street, Reading. (49) The Witney band gave a concert as part of a tea meeting held in 1846 or 1847 in Early's warehouse. (50) The Swindon Mechanics' Institution band took part in a concert in the school room, New Swindon, in July 1847. (51) Bands were taking part in more indoor concerts by the 1850s. The 'Miners [sic] Sax-Tuba Band' played in a concert at St. Austell Town Hall in October 1854. (52) The Truro Amateur Sax-Tuba band took part in several indoor concerts in Cornwall in 1853-4. (53)

Also, in contrast to the lightweight repertoire performed by amateur bands in the early nineteenth

(54) Smith/[1], p17. The Hallelujah Chorus was a popular contest piece in the mid-nineteenth century. Wold band played it when they won the Burton Constable contest of 1845 (see Taylor 1979, p34) and Lofthouse Sax-horn band won first prize with it at the Lofthouse contest of 1859. (See [Anon.] 1859, p67).

(55) Smith/[1], p16.

century, bands of this period were now playing a certain amount of 'art' music. It will be remembered that this music was seen as having the strongest moral associations by contemporary commentators. The 'art' music played by bands fell into two main categories: arrangements of oratorio pieces and arrangements of operatic music - particularly overtures and selections.

Much of the oratorio music used by bands was taken from works by Handel or Haydn, which were popular and widely available in mid-nineteenth century Britain. The earliest mention I have found of bands playing oratorio music is in the autobiography of the Witney bandsman, William Smith, which states that the Witney band played the Hallelujah Chorus and a number of 'other [oratorio?] Choruses' at a concert in Reading, probably in the early or mid-1840s. (54) There are several other references to Witney playing oratorio music; for instance, at some time in the 1840s or 1850s, the band played the trio and chorus The Heavens are Telling from Haydn's The Creation at a festival at Wantage. (55)

The earliest reference I have found to a band playing operatic music is also in Smith's account of the concert given by Witney band at Reading probably in the early or mid-1840s, in which he mentions the band playing selections from two Bellini operas - Norma and La Sonnambula, as well as the overtures Tancredi and

(56) Smith/[1], p17.

(57) See Scott 1970, pp194-5, which refers to band arrangements of operatic music by Rossini and Donizetti being published in 1837.

(58) The Bristol Gazette, and Public Advertiser, Thursday 8 September 1859, p5.

(59) Ibid., Thursday 25 August 1859, p6.

(60) See poster for concert, reproduced in Peck 1983, p58.

(61) The piece seems to have been a particular favourite with the Witney band. See Smith/[1], which mentions Witney playing the piece on at least three occasions: at Reading (p17); at a tea meeting at Witney (p24) and at the contest with Royal Thame band (p30).

(62) The Bristol Gazette and Public Advertiser, Thursday 25 August 1859, p6.

(63) See Peck op. cit., loc. cit..

(64) The West Briton, Friday 20 April 1855, p5.



L'Italiana in Algieri by Rossini and The Caliph of Baghdad by Boieldieu. (56) However, it is possible that some bands were playing operatic music a few years before this. Brass band arrangements of operatic pieces were being published by the late 1830s. (57)

By the late 1840s and the 1850s, arrangements of operatic music were being played by a number of bands. Music by Italian composers was particularly popular. The Gloucester band played 'an air or two' [perhaps a short selection?] from Donizetti's Lucia di Lammermoor at the contest held in Bristol in 1859. (58) In the same year, an unidentified band played a selection from Donizetti's Maria Stuarda at an exhibition organised by Frenchay Horticultural Society. (59) In 1847, the Swindon Mechanics' Institute band included a selection from Verdi's I Lombardi in a concert programme. (60)

French operatic music also featured in band programmes. Boieldieu's overture The Caliph of Baghdad has already been mentioned. (61) Auber's overture Massaniello was heard at the Frenchay Horticultural Society exhibition mentioned above. (62) Some Mozart was also played; the Swindon Mechanics' Institute band had the overture Die Zauberflöte in their repertoire in 1847. (63) There are also one or two instances of English operatic music in band programmes; for instance, Penzance Amateur Brass band was playing Bishop's overture Guy Mannering in 1855. (64)

(65) Title page of Childe [1852], which also contained a note that 'The Ophicleide part may also be played on the Bass Trombone'. See below for information about the scoring of these pieces.

(66) Ibid., loc. cit..

(67) Herbert 1988, p66. The repertory of the Cyfarthfa band is dealt with at greater length in an article 'The Repertory of a Victorian Provincial Brass Band'. (See Herbert 1990.) I am grateful to Dr. Herbert for allowing me to see this in typescript.

Although most arrangements of 'art' music published for band fall into the two categories mentioned above, a few pieces were being published which suggest that the 'art' music repertoire of bands was slightly broader. In 1852, Wessel & Co. published The Amateurs' Brass Band Quartetts, which were scored by W. Childe for a small brass band of 'Three Cornets a Pistons, (Cornopeans.) and Ophicleide or Valve Tenor Trombone'. (65) Much of the 'art' music in this series was operatic music. However, two of the pieces were arrangements of Schubert songs. No. 11 was Hark! Hark the Lark and No. 16 was Huntsman, Rest. Two others purported to be arrangements of Beethoven chamber music. No. 10 was labelled Andante from Sonata, Op. 41, while it was stated that No. 17 was Slow Movement from Trio, Op. 1. (66) In fact, No. 10 was the theme from the first movement (theme and variations) of Beethoven's Sonata in Ab Op. 26 for piano. No. 17 (the opening bars of this are given in Example 5.1 below) was a shortened version of the slow movement from the Sonata in A Op. 2 No. 2 for piano.

The impression that a few bands in the mid-nineteenth century were playing a number of pieces which were not drawn from the operatic or oratorio repertoire is borne out by Trevor Herbert's research on the bandbooks of the Cyfarthfa band of South Wales, which has shown that this band was playing a very broad spectrum of music, including complete symphonies by Beethoven, Haydn and Mozart. (67)

(68) Childe [1852], item 17. The instruments specified are taken from the first page of each part. The information on the title page about the instruments employed is a little misleading. It will be noticed that the ophicleide/ bass trombone part is not optional (as the title page could be taken as implying) but essential. The two parts which double one another are the 3rd cornet and the valve trombone; one of these could therefore be omitted. The discrepancies between the parts are reproduced as in the originals; for instance, in bar 5, the valve trombone (which, it will be remembered, doubles the 3rd cornet) has mezzo staccato crotchets, while the 3rd cornet does not. Interestingly, the arranger, William Childe, has specified that the piece should be played tenuto sempre. Modern piano editions of the sonata specify that this only applies to the upper parts; the bass part bears the contrasting direction staccato sempre.



Example 5.1: Opening bars of piece No. 17 of The Amateurs'  
Brass Band Quartetts [1852] (68)

Largo Appassionata

[Cornet-à-Pistons in Ab 1<sup>mo</sup>]

[2<sup>nd</sup> Cornet-à-Pistons] [in Ab]

[3<sup>rd</sup> Cornet-à-Pistons] [in Ab]

[Valve Tenor Trombone] [in Ab]

[Ophicleide or Bass Trombone]

*p*

*p* Tenuto sempre

*p* Tenuto sempre

*p* Tenuto sempre

*p* Tenuto sempre



A handwritten musical score on five staves, organized into three measures by vertical bar lines. The notation is in treble and bass clefs with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The first measure contains a melodic line in the first staff, a bass line in the second staff, and a complex rhythmic pattern in the third staff. The second measure continues the melodic and bass lines, with the third staff showing a different rhythmic pattern. The third measure concludes with a final note in the first staff, a final note in the second staff, and a final note in the third staff. The notation is handwritten and includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Handwritten musical score on five staves, organized into three measures by vertical bar lines. The notation is in treble and bass clefs with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The first measure contains a melodic line in the first staff, a bass line in the second staff, and a complex rhythmic pattern in the third staff. The second measure continues the melodic and bass lines, with the third staff showing a different rhythmic pattern. The third measure concludes with a final note in the first staff, a final note in the second staff, and a final note in the third staff. The notation is handwritten and includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

(69) Wessel & Co's Journal for Brass Band, Book 12,  
titles of pieces from solo cornet part.

Also, some of the operatic arrangements in Wessel & Co's Journal for Brass Band were not overtures or selections; Book 12 of the journal (published in 1845) contained the following six pieces:

- Nº 1 Septett from La Gazza Ladra. - Rossini
- Nº 2 Aria from Zampa. - Herold
- Nº 3 Drinking song from Der Freischütz. - Weber
- Nº 4 Grand Aria from Zampa. - Herold
- Nº 5 Duet from "Elisire d'Amore". - Donizetti
- Nº 6 Finale of "La Gazza Ladra". - Rossini (69)

The first few bars of No. 5 from this collection are given in Example 5.2 below.

(70) Wessel & Co.'s Journal for Brass Band, Book 12, No. 5. This piece is an arrangement of a duet for tenor and bass from Act I Scene VI of the opera. The instruments specified are taken from the front of the respective part books. The following instruments are tacet in this piece - trumpets, tympani, cornet à pistons in D. The title page of book 12 states that the cornet in D, 3rd and 4th horns, trumpets and timpani are ad libitum. I have given the music with all the numerous discrepancies which appear in the part books. Among these are: varying dynamic markings for the first chord - the alto and tenor trombones have no marking at all, while the 1st cornet is marked forte and the 2nd cornet fortissimo. There are also rhythmic errors; the quaver rest in the 1st cornet part in bar 5 should be a crotchet rest. On the third crotchet of bars 7 and 8, crotchet rests are missing from the 3rd and 4th horn parts. There is also a discrepancy between the rhythm of the solo cornet and 1st cornet parts in bar 9. The large number of errors in this short extract and in Example 5.1 are quite surprising, given the expensiveness of band music.

Example 5.2: Opening bars of No. 5 (Duet from "Elisire d'Amore") from Book 12 of Wessel & Co's Journal for Brass Band [1845] (70)

Allegro §.

[Solo Cornet  
à Pistons]  
[in A]

[1<sup>st</sup> & 2<sup>nd</sup>  
Cornets  
à Pistons]  
[in G]

[Corno  
1<sup>no</sup> & 2<sup>do</sup>]  
[in D]

[Corno  
3<sup>ro</sup> & 4<sup>to</sup>  
ad lib.]  
[in G]

[Alto  
Trombone]

[Tenor  
Trombone]

[Bass  
Trombone]

[Euphonium]

ff

p

ff

p

ff

p

f

[f]

ff

[f]

f

p



Handwritten musical score on ten staves, organized into five systems of two staves each. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, beams, and dynamic markings like 'p' and 'f'.

The first system (staves 1-2) features a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The second system (staves 3-4) continues the melody in the treble clef. The third system (staves 5-6) shows a change in the bass line, with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The fourth system (staves 7-8) includes dynamic markings 'p' (piano) and 'f' (forte) on the bass line. The fifth system (staves 9-10) concludes the piece with a final dynamic marking 'f' and a key signature change to one sharp.

A handwritten musical score on ten staves, organized into three systems. The first system (staves 1-3) features a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 6/8 time signature. The melody in the first staff includes eighth and sixteenth notes with slurs. The second staff contains a similar melodic line with some rests. The third staff shows a bass line with eighth notes and rests. The second system (staves 4-6) continues the melody in the first staff, with some notes marked with a 'p' (piano). The third staff of this system shows a bass line with eighth notes and rests. The third system (staves 7-9) features a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 6/8 time signature. The melody in the first staff includes eighth and sixteenth notes with slurs. The second staff contains a similar melodic line with some rests. The third staff shows a bass line with eighth notes and rests. The fourth system (staves 10-12) continues the melody in the first staff, with some notes marked with a 'p' (piano). The third staff of this system shows a bass line with eighth notes and rests.

Handwritten musical score on page 407, featuring eight staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and bar lines, suggesting a complex composition. The staves are arranged in a single system, with the first staff containing a treble clef and the subsequent staves containing various clefs and key signatures. The notation is dense and includes many accidentals and dynamic markings.

The score is divided into measures by vertical bar lines. The first staff contains a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The second staff contains a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The third staff contains a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The fourth staff contains a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The fifth staff contains a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The sixth staff contains a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The seventh staff contains a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The eighth staff contains a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#).

It is therefore possible that some bandsmen were motivated by middle-class ideas about 'respectable' behaviour and recreation and were also affected by the related promotion of a formal approach to music, using an 'art' music repertoire. Undoubtedly, it is important to recognise the novelty of many of the developments which took place in banding in the mid-nineteenth century; however, it should also be borne in mind that there may have been a considerable element of continuity.

It is possible that at least part of what was termed the 'respectable' behaviour of some bandsmen may not have been the result of their acceptance of middle-class values; rather, it may have been the result of the persistence of older traditions of working-class behaviour, perhaps in uneasy co-existence with, and sometimes similar to, the kind of respectability advocated by social reformers.

It will be clear from the earlier chapters of this thesis that amateur instrumental music had been an established and widespread recreation for working men in southern England since the late eighteenth century. It is likely that the connections of banding with the working class and particularly its encouragement by certain families (many of which had developed a strong and lasting association with banding) played as much part in motivating men to join bands in the mid-nineteenth century

(71) See Gray 1974, pp25-6.



as the desire for respectability did.

The account of the organisation of early wind bands given in Chapters 1-3 indicates that working men were forming organised, disciplined bands in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Other working-class leisure activities such as friendly societies also displayed a degree of organisation and discipline. It is possible that the formality of the bands established in the mid-nineteenth century owed as much to the persistence of these working-class traditions of organised, regulated recreation as they did to the influence of middle-class reformers.

The thrift shown by some bandsmen was also a characteristic which had been associated for a long time with some sections of the working class. It was particularly important that artisans exercised thrift; they needed to save in order to afford the cost of the tools of their trade and, perhaps, in order to be able to weather periods of unemployment. (71) In music-making, it will be remembered that this thriftiness was practised by a few bandsmen in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in order to find the money for their own instruments and music.

Some bands expected their members to pay their own way, and approximated to the mid-Victorian ideals of individualism and self-help. However, the financial

(72) James 1986, p248.

(73) Smith/[1], p16.

arrangements of other bands were more collectivist in character. Many bands relied upon support from outsiders; donations were sought from the local community or from institutions or businesses. These bands were making use of fund-raising methods which had been (necessarily) employed since the eighteenth century by working-class musicians.

Certain other features of banding in the mid-nineteenth century are more easily attributed to the persistence of attitudes and practices dating back to the late eighteenth century than they are to the influence of middle-class notions of respectability. There is evidence that banding was undertaken in a light-hearted, maybe even slightly disreputable spirit, as it had been by many bandsmen in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Like their predecessors, some bands in the mid-nineteenth century were not notable for their air of moral earnestness. Banding was probably seen by some bandsmen as a way of making a little money and boosting the family finances. In the 1850s, the members of the Highworth Oddfellows' band divided the profits of engagements amongst themselves. (72) Banding was also viewed as an activity which provided companionship. William Smith stated that the first tune played by the Witney band was We lived and loved together. He claimed that 'this was verified [sic] in after experience'. (73) Some working men perceived bands as providing amusement rather than moral

(74) Quoted in James 1986, p248.

(75) SAS/[Nye MS]/[1], p[9].

(76) Ibid., p[10].

(77) Rolston 1978 [Haslemere 1850-1950], p5.

edification; the founder members of the Highworth Oddfellows' band in 1855 stated that the band was established 'for our own pleasure and for the amusement of those who choose to engage us'. (74)

Some bands in this period, like many of their predecessors, took part in events which may have been amusing and convivial, but were not always respectable. The Sussex musician, James Nye, stated in his autobiography that he 'joined to a band' in (probably) the 1840s and that 'this was a snare' to him. (75) He returned to this a little later, remarking guiltily that 'i have been in ungodley company Playing music for them to dance to'. [sic throughout] (76) Bridger's band in Haslemere took part in the town's annual club day in June of each year, a feature of which was a strange and rather unrespectable procession of men dressed as soldiers, sailors or women. (77)

The band repertoire, while containing some pieces of 'art' music, also included a great deal of light material, as it had done in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It has already been shown in Chapter 4 that such music was attracting criticism from some commentators by the mid-nineteenth century because it was seen as having little moral value. Arrangements for band of light, popular items originally written for voice were often performed. Songs of the eighteenth century and before were still popular. At a dinner held at the Western



(78) The West Briton, Friday 14 February 1840, [supplement], p[2]. This was probably a wind band; there were certainly wind bands in the locality at this time. Also, the report states that the band was placed 'in an adjoining apartment' - this may suggest that the sound of a band in the same room was considered rather overwhelming and that the band in question was a wind band.

(79) Ibid., Friday 8 April 1853, p8.

(80) Berkshire Chronicle, Saturday 14 November 1857, p4.

(81) The West Briton, Friday 14 February 1840, [supplement], p[2].

Hotel, Penzance, to celebrate the royal wedding of 1840, an unidentified band played a programme of music which included the following:

God Save the Queen

Haste to the Wedding

Star of Brunswick

The British Grenadiers

Rule Britannia

One and All

Hearts of Oak

Britons Strike Home

Here's a Health to All True Lasses (78)

Arrangements of popular songs of more recent origin also featured in the band repertoire; for instance, Truro Amateur Sax-Tuba band included the song Love Not by J. J. Blockley (first published 1829) in a programme of 1853. (79)

Other pieces, composed as instrumental marches, were also used. The Caversham House school band played The Grenadiers' March in a concert programme of 1857. (80) The programme of the band at the Penzance royal wedding celebrations included two marches. (81)

Music written as instrumental dances was also played; for example, 'waltzes, polkas, [and] galops' were

(82) The West Briton, Friday 8 April 1853, p8.

(83) James 1986, p248.

(84) The Bristol Gazette, and Public Advertiser, Thursday  
8 September 1859, p5.

performed by the Truro Amateur Sax-Tuba band at a concert in 1853. (82) Much of the small amount of original music written for band at this stage was in the form of dances; Highworth Oddfellows' band played a polka at Highworth fete in 1857, which had been specially composed by a band member. (83) Enderby Jackson wrote a set of waltzes - Bristol Waltzes - as a set test piece for the Bristol band contest of 1859. (84)

Therefore, the impact of attempts to reform the manners of the working class may have been less than many contemporaries realised. Although the spread of banding may appear to be evidence of the 'downward flow' of notions of respectability, working men's behaviour in joining bands may also have been influenced (possibly simultaneously) by the persistence of older working-class traditions of social and musical life. Their continuing importance may have been obscured because they bore some resemblance to the respectability of the middle classes.

It is also possible that the element of continuity in working-class music-making has been underestimated for another reason. Bailey's essay on working-class respectability has suggested that working men may have conformed to middle-class ideas of respectability while in the presence of middle-class people. By role-playing in this way, they obtained middle-class patronage and avoided trouble with the police. However, such behaviour did not

(85) See Bailey 1979.

(86) Smith/[1], p16.

(87) Ibid., pp25-7.



necessarily betoken anything more than a limited, temporary attachment to respectability. Aided by the anonymity of the urban environment, these same working men could pursue highly inconsistent lifestyles. When out of sight of employers, policemen or philanthropists, the role of the 'respectable' was dropped and working men could even revert to the drunkenness and violence which had been salient features of much of the popular culture of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. (85)

It is possible that some of the 'respectable' bandsmen of Rotherfield or Witney were merely playing the role of the respectable in order to obtain the benefits of middle-class support. It may be significant that Smith added the qualification that he never saw any of the band 'the worse for liquor while on duty'. [My underlining] (86) There is evidence that Smith himself led something of a double life; a pillar of the chapel and teetotal society and a member of a temperance band, Smith ran what appears to have been a clandestine brewing business for some time. (87)

However, despite the evidence of continuity given above, much of the explanation for the popularity of banding amongst the working class in the mid-nineteenth century relates to contemporary social changes. Some sections of the working class had more time and money to spare for leisure activities such as playing in, or

(88) Best 1971, pp137-8.

(89) Ibid., p111 et seq..

listening to, bands. In the early nineteenth century, the lower classes often had to endure long, gruelling working hours. However, during the period covered by this chapter, many factory and skilled workers gained a half holiday on Saturdays and reductions in the working day - although these improvements did not always apply to unskilled or casual labourers, who often continued to face very long hours. (88) Although there is controversy about the standards of living of the working classes during this period, it is also possible that some had more money to spend on leisure and that the real wages of some working men - particularly artisans - had already begun to rise slightly by the 1840s. (89)

The expansion in banding amongst the working class was also facilitated by the increase in provision for popular musical education which took place at about this time. Singing classes were established in many places; self-tutors in musical knowledge were published; travelling lecturers spoke on musical matters. At the very least, these developments stimulated considerable interest in music and increased the sum of musical knowledge of the population. Quite a few of the bandsmen of the mid-nineteenth century may have acquired some musical knowledge or developed musical interests as members of singing classes and choral societies.

There is evidence that some bandsmen were singers;

(90) The West Briton, Friday 28 April 1843, p[2].

(91) James 1986, p248.

(92) The West Briton, Friday 16 June, 1848, p[2].

(93) The Musical Times, 1 July 1844, p15.

(94) A few artisans were members of music clubs or choral societies in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; see Russell 1980, p33 et seq. for a description of the situation in West Yorkshire, where a tradition of oratorio performances was well-established. See also Weber 1975, p85 et seq. for an account of lower middle-class and artisan music making in London in this period.

for instance, Chacewater Amateur band sang some pieces in a performance of 1843. (90) Some of the members of Highworth Oddfellows' band sang glees and songs at a tea meeting in 1858. (91) One or two bands had connections with choral societies. In 1848, The West Briton referred to 'a brass band belonging to the Coombe choral society'. (92) A writer in The Musical Times in 1844 certainly believed that the singing classes were an important reason for the expansion of banding; he remarked that the 'moving cause' of the appearance of a large number of bands in Reading 'was the introduction of class singing about two years and a half ago by Mr. Mainzer'. (93)

'Art' music was also becoming more easily available to working people at this time. Previously, 'art' music had been mainly the preserve of the middle and upper classes, being inaccessible to all but a few working-class people. (94) Published versions of such music were expensive and live performances were unusual. In the mid-nineteenth century, cheap editions of 'art' music became available; with the revival of movable type printing methods by Novello, it became possible for working people to afford vocal scores of oratorio music. The singing classes and travelling professional musicians (who will be discussed later) - brought the public more into contact with 'art music'. Bands themselves were also to become extremely important agencies of popular musical education.



(95) [Hogarth and Wills] 1850, p161.

A sense of the novelty of working-class awareness of 'art' music - and evidence of the educative function of bands - is conveyed in Hogarth and Wills' article of 1850 in Household Words. The correspondent of a London paper, visiting Merthyr Tydfil in the middle of the century, was 'exceedingly puzzled by hearing boys in the Cyfarthfa works whistling airs rarely heard except in the fashionable ball-room, opera-house, or drawing-room'. The factory lads' surprising knowledge of the 'art' music repertoire came from their hearing the brass band established by the local ironmaster, Robert Crawshay. (95)

In the mid-nineteenth century, there was also an increase in the number of places and occasions where bands and other musical organisations could perform. The enthusiasm amongst some people for 'rational recreation' led to the creation of parks and numerous mechanics' institutes and other public halls. In this period, various organisations such as Sunday schools and temperance societies were established; these often required bands for their processions and festivals.

Two further developments - the availability of the chromatic brass and increasing promotion of band instruments - were also extremely important in the expansion of banding amongst the working classes. These are considered in the next two sections of this chapter.

(96) See Baines 1980, pp182-4.

(97) Ibid., p206 et seq..

iv) The availability of chromatic brass instruments

The increasing availability of brass instruments capable of playing chromatically throughout their range was a very important factor in the expansion of banding in the mid-nineteenth century.

Although some professional trumpeters in the late eighteenth century were employing the slide trumpet, which was able to play some chromatic passages, (96) the brass instruments in general use at this time - natural trumpets and horns - were unable to be played chromatically, except in the upper register. The trombone had only recently been reintroduced after a period of obsolescence. However, as Chapter 3 shows, fully chromatic brass instruments were beginning to appear (or reappear) in the early nineteenth century. The bass horn (an upright, v-shaped, metal version of the serpent) was invented in the 1790s. The trombone was being played by a number of amateurs in the south by the 1830s. Keyed brass instruments - the keyed bugle and the ophicleide - were patented in 1810 and 1821 respectively and were also coming into use in amateur bands.

The application of the valve to brass instruments in 1815 by Stoelzel and/or Blümel meant that it was now possible for horns and trumpets to be played chromatically throughout their respective ranges. (97) The design of

(98) Baines 1980, p209 et seq..

(99) See Scott 1970, pp46-50.

(100) Baines op. cit., p254. Sax did produce an experimental bass in FF. In 1846, Henry Distin became the English agent for Sax instruments. (See Carse 1945, p199.)

(101) The West Briton, Friday 20 April 1838, p[3].



valves was modified and improved by various German, French and English instrument makers. Eventually, the valve patented in 1839 by the Parisian instrument maker Périnet became the most commonly-used, although minor modifications continued to be made. (98) Various new valved instruments were also invented; among the most important of these was the cornopean (or early cornet), which started to become available in Britain in the early or mid-1830s. (99) Some manufacturers began to produce 'families' of valved brass instruments, which usually included bass, tenor, alto and soprano instruments of similar design. The most successful of these 'families' were the saxhorns or saxtubas, produced by the Belgian instrument maker, Adolphe Sax, from 1843, and available in Britain from the mid-1840s onwards. The saxhorns ranged eventually from the sopranino in high Bb down to the bass in BBb. (100)

The availability of chromatic brass instruments enhanced the attractiveness of banding for working-class men in several ways. It was recognised by contemporaries that a surprisingly high degree of proficiency could be achieved on the chromatic brass in a short time. In 1838, a report in The West Briton stated that 'considering the short time the St. Blazey [brass] band has been formed, their proficiency is almost astonishing'. (101) The same paper, commenting on the first public performance of the Falmouth Sax-Tuba band (which took place on 20 December

(102) The West Briton, Friday 4 January 1856, p5.

1855), reported that the standard of playing 'far exceeded general expectation'. (102) The valved brass, which usually required the manipulation of only the three most dexterous fingers of the right hand, were particularly easy to learn and were well-suited for use by working men whose hands had been coarsened by manual work. It was a much slower business for a player to become a proficient performer on woodwind instruments.

The valved brass were also attractive to working men because, unlike woodwind instruments, they used a similar fingering system, which allowed players to transfer easily from one instrument to another. They were also easier to maintain; although valves sometimes required attention, they were less prone to damage than the mechanisms of woodwind instruments.

The availability of trombones, bass horns, the keyed brass and - later. - valved instruments made it feasible to create all-brass bands. Brass bands were not only generally easier to teach and maintain than ensembles made up from brass and woodwind instruments; they also possessed the important advantage that they were better suited for outdoor playing - which was the main function of amateur bands. Brass instruments were less affected by the weather. The music of a brass band could also carry further in the open air than the playing of a brass and woodwind band of similar size.

(103) The earliest brass band I have found in southern England is the St. Austell Amateur Brass Band, which was playing in public by the end of November, 1837. (The West Briton, Friday 1 December 1837, p[2].) It is possible, even likely, that other all-brass ensembles were present in southern England before this.

(104) The earliest all-brass bands appear to have been founded in the early 1830s. Brass bands may have been established in Wales as early as 1832 at Blaina and Pontybydyran [Pontrhydyrun?]. In northern England, York Amateur Brass Band was founded in 1833. (See Taylor 1979, pp22-3.) Scott states (possibly with some exaggeration) that, in northern England, 'By 1836, the brass band was an accepted reality' - meaning, presumably, that brass bands were well-established in the north by this time. (Scott 1970, p124.)

(105) See photograph in Taylor op. cit., p55.

(106) See Chapter 3; I have found little evidence of the use of the cornet in southern England in the late 1830s.

Although I have found only a little evidence of the instruments used by brass bands in southern England in the mid-nineteenth century, it is possible to give some indication of the development of the brass band during this period.

The earliest brass bands in southern England were probably founded in the late 1830s. (103) This is a little later than the first brass bands elsewhere. (104) The earliest brass bands in southern England were probably composed of natural horns and trumpets, trombones and keyed brass, as well as, perhaps, bass horns or serpents. Even the inclusion of one or two woodwind instruments may not have deterred a band from calling itself a 'brass band'. As late as 1860, Besses o' th' Barn band from the north of England (although almost entirely made up from brass players) included a single clarinetist. (105) Valved instruments such as the cornet were probably uncommon at this stage. (106) Although I have found no details of the instruments used by a specific brass band in the 1830s, there are two kinds of evidence which confirm this view. Firstly, Edward Holmes, the eminent music critic, stated in an article of 1838 that



(107) [Holmes] 1838, p182.

(108) Scott 1970, p125.

(109) See *ibid.*, p127 and p200.

(110) I am grateful to Benjamin Cox, curator of Blandford Forum museum, for this information and for his provision of a great deal of other material relating to banding in Blandford.

Many horns and trumpets in different keys, combined with trombones, keyed bugles, bass horns, and ophicleides, go to the formation of a complete brass band, capable of commanding all those modulations and mutations of harmony that occur in modern music. (107)

Secondly, the instrumental combinations employed in the earliest published brass band music give a similar impression. MacFarlane's Eight Popular Airs for a Brass Band (published 1836) is the first known printed music for brass band. The music was written for 3 keyed bugles, 2 [natural?] trumpets, 2 [natural?] horns, 3 trombones and a serpent. (108) Praeger's Thirteen Favorite [sic] Melodies for brass band (c.1838) was scored for 2 keyed bugles, 2 [natural?] trumpets, 2 [natural?] horns, 3 trombones and a bass horn/serpent. (109)

By the 1840s, some of the more progressive southern brass bands were using cornopeans/cornets, which may have started to displace the keyed bugle and the old natural trumpets. There was a 'cornopean band' in Blandford by 1848. Mr. Applin, the leader, was already a very accomplished player and may, therefore, have been playing the instrument for some years. (110) The published music produced in the 1840s makes use of cornets; apparently,

(111) Wessel & Co's Journal for Brass Band, book 12, title page.

(112) See Carse 1945, p199.

(113) Cox 1987, p[2]. It is not clear whether Eyers played the saxhorn in a band.

(114) Baines 1980, p253. See also *ibid.*, fig. 49, p256. Baines disagrees with Scott; Scott states that the alt horn was not in general use in Britain until after the Great Exhibition of 1851. (See Scott 1970, p86.)

(115) See Baines *op. cit.*, fig. 49, p256.

the keyed bugle and natural trumpet were no longer such essential components of the brass band. Book 12 of Wessel & Co's Journal for Brass Band (published 1845) is scored for 3 cornets, 2 horns, 3 trombones and ophicleide. There are ad libitum parts for Db cornet/bugle, 2 more horns, 2 trumpets and kettledrums. (111)

In the late 1840s, a few brass bandsmen in southern England were probably using various other valved instruments, which were becoming available at about this time. By 1846, saxhorns could be obtained from Sax's agents in London, Henry Distin & Co.. (112) The Blandford musician Robert Eyers was playing a saxhorn at a concert in the town's Assembly Rooms in 1848, although it is not clear whether he played the instrument in the town band. (113) The clavicor or alt horn, a valved alto/tenor brass instrument, was available in Britain by the 1840s and, according to Baines's history of brass instruments, was certainly used by a number of British bands. (114) Valved trombones were also being made, and were being sold by the Distins in about 1849. (115) Some music published in the late 1840s for brass band included parts for saxhorns and other valved instruments. In 1847, it was announced that a number of pieces for brass band were to be published by Jullien. It was stated that the music was scored by the arranger (the military bandmaster, J. G. Jones) for the



(116) Advertisement bound with vols. 37-40 of Jullien's Journal for Military Bands (published 1847). The 'sax-trombone-solo' was probably a valved trombone. The 'bass-bombardon' called for was a tuba; possibly this was Sax's 'bombardon' in Eb which appeared in Britain in the late 1840s. (See Scott 1970, p75.)

(117) See *ibid.*, p83 and pp86-8.



following instruments:

E flat Cornet,  
 B flat solo [cornet?],  
 B flat Primo, secondo, and terzo [cornets?],  
 two E flat Horns or Sax-horns,  
 two B flat horns,  
 two E flat trumpets,  
 one sax-trombone-solo,  
 one E flat clavicor-solo,  
 one ophicleide-principal,  
 three trombones,  
 bass-bombardon,  
 and drums. (116)

By the 1850s, it is probable that valved instruments were becoming more commonly found in brass bands. It is also likely that the keyed bugle and the natural trumpet were no longer used by some bands, since their role had been taken over by valved instruments. The saxhorns were becoming more readily available than before; they were copied and promoted by other firms, particularly after Sax's instruments attracted a great deal of attention at the Great Exhibition of 1851. (117) The 1850s also witnessed an expansion in brass instrument manufacturing in response to the increased demand for instruments

(118) See Scott 1970, pp85-6. According to Scott, the 1850s witnessed increased production of brass instruments by established firms as well as the appearance of a few new manufacturers.

(119) See, for instance, Campton & Co.'s advertisement in The Musical Times, 1. August 1858, p282, offering an 'important reduction' in the price of saxhorns, tubas, cornopeans, etc..

(120) See, for example, *ibid.*, 1 May 1854, p33 - which includes an announcement that a number of instruments and some music are for sale, apparently as the result of the breakup of a band. The list of instruments includes a 'Sax-tuba'; a 'Trumpet, two valves'; a 'Cornet, by Alsop' and an 'alto'.

(121) Wessel & Co's Journal for Brass Band, title page for books 14-17.

at the time. (118) Cheap valved instruments were beginning to become available; possibly as a result of increasing competition, retailers were claiming to offer big reductions in their prices. (119) Also, second-hand valved instruments were being advertised by the mid-1850s. (120) Valved instruments were certainly important in contemporary published music for brass band; the title page of Books 14-17 of Wessel & Co's Journal for Brass Band (published from 1852 onwards) stated that the music was scored by the arranger, William Childe, for the following instruments:

Cornet à Pistons in Eb (A Sax Horn)

Solo Cornet in Ab

Cornet, 1 & 2<sup>o</sup> in Ab

Horns, 1 & 2<sup>o</sup> in Eb

Valve trumpet in Eb

3 trombones

Ophecleide [sic]

Kettle Drums. (121)

In 1858, an advertisement for Boosey's New Brass Band Journal stated that this music could be performed by a band consisting of a minimum of the following eight players: '1st and 2nd Cornets, B flat; 1st and 2nd Valve Bugles, B flat; 1st and 2nd Alt-horns, E flat; Alt-horn, B

(122) The Musical Times, 1 July 1858, p266.

(123) These were: St. Austell Sax Horn Band (founded in late 1852 or early 1853) (The West Briton, Friday 3 December 1852, p5); Truro Amateur Sax-Tuba Band (founded before April 1853) (ibid., Friday 8 April 1853, p8); Pascoe's Sax-Tuba Band (founded before August 1854) (ibid., Friday 11 August 1854, p5); Falmouth Sax-Tuba Band (probably founded 1855) (ibid., Friday 4 January 1856, p5).

(124) Ibid., Friday 8 April 1853, p8.



flat; Euphonion [sic], B flat.' (122) From the early 1850s, a number of saxhorn and saxtuba bands began to appear. At least 4 bands of this kind were formed in Cornwall in the early and mid-1850s. (123) It is probable that these bands were composed of only saxhorns and percussion and did not make use of keyed or 'natural' brass instruments. In 1853, a report in The West Briton stated that the Truro Amateur Sax-Tuba band consisted of 7 performers. They played 'Sax-Tuba brass instruments' which were 'of the same description as those with which the Messrs. Distin performed some time since' and were 'two soprani, an alto, a tenor, a barytone [sic], a bass, and a drum'. (124)

Today, brass bands are (more or less) standardised. If an ensemble is described as a 'brass band', it is usually understood that the ensemble in question approximates to a certain combination of brass (and percussion) instruments. Brass bands were not standardised in the mid-nineteenth century; the term 'brass band' merely meant that a band was largely or entirely made up of brass instrumentalists. This was partly because of differing rates of adoption of the various instrumental innovations of the first half of the nineteenth century. However, there were other reasons for the lack of standardisation of bands at this time. It will be suggested in Chapter 7 that band contests were to have a standardising effect upon bands in the later nineteenth



(125) Smith/[1], pp29-30.

(126) The Bristol Gazette, and Public Advertiser, Thursday 8 September 1859, p5. The seven competing bands are given as: 'the Gloucester, Dudley, Bristol Mechanics' Total Abstinence, Merthyr Tydfil, Bachelors Brothers' Sax-horn Cardiff, Bilston, and East Challow Bands'. See also Smith/[1], pp18-19. An interesting discrepancy between the newspaper's report and Smith's account of the contest is that Smith states that the Witney band was present and won second prize, while the newspaper does not mention the Witney band, and reports that the second prize was won by East Challow. While there are several inaccuracies in Smith's autobiography, (including the date of the Bristol contest, wrongly given as 1860) it is unlikely that Smith could have been wrong about his band being present.

(127) Taylor 1979, p47.

(128) Ibid., pp46-7.

(129) See, for instance, the account of a band contest at Lofthouse, Yorkshire, in [Anon.] 1859.

century. However, Chapter 17 will also show that contesting was unusual for southern bands until the last decade or two of Queen Victoria's reign. I have found references to only three band contests taking place in southern England before 1860. Smith's autobiography refers to a contest which took place between the Witney band and the Royal Thame band at some time in the mid-nineteenth century, adjudicated by members of Wombwell's 'menagerie' band. (125) A contest was organised by the impresario Enderby Jackson at Clifton Zoological Gardens, Bristol in September 1859. Out of the seven bands which took part, only three came from the south of England. (126) Also, Taylor refers to a competition organised by Jackson at Norwich in the late 1850s, but I have been unable to find any further information about this. (127) Of course, there may have been more contests, particularly those which were small, local events. Nevertheless, I have the impression that contesting was uncommon in the south in this period. If this is correct, banding in the south contrasts with that in northern England. In the north, contests were taking place quite frequently by the mid-1850s. The annual Belle Vue competitions were established in 1853. Enderby Jackson's first contest was held at Hull in 1856 and was followed by numerous others. (128) Many less prestigious local contests were also held. (129)

Furthermore, the rules of contests do not seem to have stipulated the precise size and composition of the

(130) Smith/[1], p18. The rules of the contest at Lofthouse, given in [Anon.] 1859, p67, make no stipulation about the instruments used; they only require that 'each band intending to compete shall consist of not more than fourteen members'. See Chapter 7 for further discussion of band contesting.

(131) Jackson, 1897, p386.

(\*) There is no contradiction between the increasing availability and use of printed band music and bandsmen's continued preference for manuscript music. Although printed music was gaining in popularity in the mid-nineteenth century, it should still be noted that it was probably less commonly seen on the bandstand than the old-fashioned manuscript books. Also, Trevor Herbert has recently suggested that some of the manuscript music played by the Cyfarthfa band in the nineteenth century may have been adapted from printed band journals. (See Herbert 1990.)

(132) Title page of book 12 of Wessel & Co's Journal for Brass Band.



competing bands, as they were later to do. Contest regulations in the mid-nineteenth century allowed bands to vary in size, although there was usually a lower and upper limit to the number of players allowed. For instance, Smith stated that, at the Bristol contest of 1859, 'There was a limit of performers in each Band from 12 to 20 in number'. (130) In this way, contest organisers took account of the fact that contemporary bands were not standardised.

Enderby Jackson later wrote that printed brass band music was 'an unknown luxury' in the 1850s. (131) However, this was not the case; publishers brought out a fair amount of brass band music in the mid-nineteenth century. Much of this music was published in band journals; these were serial publications, each issue of which usually contained band arrangements of several pieces. The fact that a number of publishers - such as Wessel & Co., Boosey & Sons and Henry Distin - were producing serial publications for band would suggest that there was a demand for these and that printed music was used by bands. However, it is probable that published music did not have the standardising influence that it was later to have. (\*) Paper tax and printing methods which usually employed punched or engraved metal plates made published music very expensive. Book 12 of Wessel & Co.'s Journal for Brass Band (which contained a set of band parts for six fairly short operatic pieces) cost 12/- in 1845. (132)

(133) An even larger band could have played the music if the players 'doubled up' on some parts.

(134) See The British Musician, December 1895, p270, which refers to a west country band leader obtaining an arrangement of a selection from Bellini's Norma from Wombwell's band. The man is said to have 'dragged down' or adapted the full band score so that it could be used by his own ensemble of four players.

(135) Jackson 1897, pp386-7.



This represented perhaps half a week's wages for some artisans. Also, publishers and arrangers attempted to adapt to the fact that brass bands were unstandardised by scoring the music in such a way that it could be played by various types and sizes of combination. For instance, it will be noticed that Book 12 of Wessel & Co.'s Journal for Brass Band could be played by bands of between 9 and 15 players (133) and could be adapted for use by a variety of instrumental combinations.

Instead of published music, band leaders preferred to use manuscript arrangements which were tailored to the individual requirements of their band. Some band leaders made their own arrangements. (134) Others obtained manuscript music from professional musicians. Jackson stated that, in the 1850s

the music parts played by the bands were arranged and specially written by practical band musicians, a class of men highly respected and known to bandsmen as "music prickers". These useful writers were usually self taught theorists... having been many years engaged with travelling bands. (135)

Musicians with travelling show bands certainly seem to have been important in arranging band music. The Witney band and the Royal Thame band used arrangements by George

(136) Smith/[1], p30.

(137) See The British Musician, December 1895, p270.

(138) See The Musical Times, 1 August 1858, p282.

(139) DeRO Z7/Box 19/7c. The date of this (a list of band personnel) would appear to be after the resolution of a quarrel in late 1838; both of the protagonists in the argument are no longer playing in the band. According to DeRO Z7/Box19/7b, p[2] [reversed], the trombone was a bass trombone and one of the clarinets was in C, with 6 keys.

Ellis, who played the cornet with Wombwell's menagerie band. (136) In 1895, an article on the old circus bands claimed that 'To get music from "Wombwell's" was the great object which every band sought to obtain' and stated that leaders of the Wombwell's band even used to copy and arrange music while on stage. (137)

Some music firms employed arrangers to produce arrangements which fitted particular bands' needs. Campton & Co. of Burbage, Leicestershire, were advertising such a service by 1858. (138)

Not all bands in southern England were all-brass bands. A list of players in the Modbury band in the late 1830s or early 1840s indicates that the band employed a combination of instruments roughly similiar to that of the Horsham band mentioned in Chapter 3. The band comprised the following instrumentalists:

- 2 octave flutes
- 5 clarinets
- 1 french horn
- 1 serpent
- 1 bass horn
- 1 trombone
- 1 drum

One of the clarinetists doubled on keyed bugle or trumpet. (139) Probably the value of some of the

(140) Volunteer Service Gazette, Wednesday 9 November 1859, p20.

(141) See Best 1971, p88 et seq..



instrumental innovations of the mid-nineteenth century was not immediately obvious to bandsmen. As late as 1859, it was announced that the London Rifle Brigade was forming a new band. This band could afford to spend a great deal on buying the most up-to-date instruments - yet the combination included '4 [keyed?] bugles in B flat'. (140)

v) The promotion of band instruments

Initially, the new saxhorns and other band instruments were promoted in two ways - by the performances of travelling professional musicians and by advertising. The building of railways was under way by the 1830s and most of the larger towns could be reached by rail by the 1850s. (141) This constituted a major improvement in communications. It was now easier than ever for travelling professional musicians to tour the country. In the mid-nineteenth century, some touring ensembles were brass or wind bands of various sizes. Many of the travelling musicians were virtuoso exponents of band instruments. Their performances drew attention to the new valved instruments and may have inspired some working men to attempt to emulate them.

The bands attached to travelling shows were probably the most influential in promoting band instruments. The



(142) Smith/[1], p30.

(143) The West Briton, Friday 4 June 1841, p[2].

(144) Ibid., Friday 6 July 1838, p[2].

(145) Ibid., Friday 1 June 1855, p5.

most famous of the show bands was the band attached to Wombwell's menagerie, which was a small brass ensemble of very high quality. William Smith, who heard the Wombwell's band on at least one occasion, stated that it 'was equal to, if not superior, to any small Brass Band in the Kingdom'. (142) Other shows employed high-class brass ensembles. The West Briton stated in 1841 that Batty's menagerie brass band was 'excellent' and played 'with very good taste'. (143)

The bands employed by the travelling shows had a very wide appeal; they were accessible to all, even the least wealthy. Although some of the poor may not have been able to afford the admission charge to see a show, they could still hear the band, which was used to play in the streets to advertise the parent company's appearance in an area. Show bands also took part in local festivities. In 1838, the music of Wombwell's brass band 'gratified the assembled multitude' at the coronation celebrations in Falmouth. (144) The show bands were not only popular among the 'multitude'; when Wombwell's menagerie visited Truro Whitsuntide fair in 1855, a report in The West Briton praised the band. The writer commented: 'The band with the wild beasts is first rate, and it is really a treat to listen to them. Every one should hear it'. (145)

A number of other ensembles were touring the country in the mid-nineteenth century. Jullien's famous orchestra made a number of provincial tours in the 1840s and 50s.

- (146) These are all mentioned in Carse 1951, pp39-98.
- (147) Ibid., p86. See also Baines 1980, p254.
- (148) See Carse 1945.
- (149) Ibid., p195.
- (150) [Holmes] 1838, p183.
- (151) Carse 1945, p197.
- (152) Ibid., p198.
- (153) See Berkshire Chronicle, Saturday 28 March 1840, p[3].
- (154) Gloucester Journal, Saturday 4 January 1840, p[3].

Jullien's programmes featured a number of virtuoso brass and woodwind soloists. Amongst these were the cornet players Arban and Koenig, the ophicleide players Prospère and Hughes, the horn player Vivier and the clarinetist Lazarus. (146) In 1855, Jullien made a tour using a band made up entirely from wind instrumentalists, including some saxhorn players. (147)

John Distin had become famous as a trumpeter and keyed bugler in the early nineteenth century, playing with the Grenadier Guards band and the Prince Regent's private band. In the 1830s, he formed a brass quintet with his four sons and began to tour the country. The Distins continued to tour from time to time until the 1850s. (148) At first, the group used a slide trumpet, a trombone and three horns. (149) By 1838, they were employing 2 keyed bugles (one of these players doubled on trumpet), 2 horns and a trombone. (150) In 1844, they performed in London on valved instruments. (151) A lithograph of 1845 shows the quintet equipped mainly with saxhorns. (152)

Some other less well-known touring ensembles featured band instruments. Chapter 3 mentioned the Hohlstein family cornopean band, which played at Gloucester in 1840. The band also performed at Reading in the same year. (153) This combination included at least one cornopean, as well as tenor and bass trombones. Advertisements claimed that the players were former members of the Emperor of Austria's private band. (154) Two concerts by Herr Sommer



(155) Berkshire Chronicle, Saturday 22 May 1852, p5.

(156) Baines 1980, p258.

(157) See, for instance, Bainbridge 1980, pp13-14.

(158) See Berkshire Chronicle, Saturday 30 January 1847, p[1], which advertised a concert by Jullien's orchestra at Reading town hall. Tickets were priced at 1/6 and 3/6. See also Carse 1951, p3.

(159) Berkshire Chronicle, Saturday 17 July 1841, p[1]. The fact that the Distins were giving morning concerts is an indication that they were playing for a leisured audience which did not have to work. The wording of their advertisement also confirms the impression that the group were playing for the wealthier members of society. It begins: 'The Nobility, Gentry, and Amateurs, are respectfully informed that...'

(160) Ibid., Saturday 26 February 1853, p[1].



and his 'Sommerophone Band' took place in Reading in 1852. The Sommerophone was apparently some kind of bass brass instrument; (155) this may have been the early form of euphonium invented by a German called Sommer in 1843. (156)

Secondary sources for the history of bands in the mid-nineteenth century place great emphasis upon the role of Jullien and the Distins in promoting band instruments among the working class. (157) However, both the Jullien orchestra and the Distins were probably less effective in this regard than the show bands. The cost of the cheapest tickets to Jullien's concerts was usually a shilling or slightly more; (158) this probably meant that only the most prosperous of the working class could attend. Initially, the Distins probably reached a much narrower audience. In 1841, single tickets for their morning concerts at Reading town hall cost 5/-. Tickets for the evening performances cost 4/-. (159) Later, the cost of admission to the performances of the Distins became comparable to Jullien's prices, thereby perhaps allowing some working-class people to join the audience. In 1853, the cheapest tickets for a concert by the ensemble at Reading cost 1/-. (160) Generally speaking, both of these ensembles only gave indoor performances; therefore, they could only be heard by those who could afford to pay for admission to the hall. Therefore, Jullien and the Distins were probably most effective in popularising band

instruments amongst the middle class, who were often the patrons of bands rather than bandsmen.

Band instruments were also increasingly promoted by advertisements in the mid-nineteenth century. In the early part of the period covered by this chapter, there were few advertisements for band instruments. Indeed, The Musical Times carried no advertisements for brass instruments between its foundation in 1844 and the end of 1849 inclusive. Advertisers faced a number of disadvantages before the middle of the century. Advertising duty was in force. Also, few periodicals or newspapers had a very large circulation - this was partly because they were so expensive; the paper tax and the stamp duty remained in place at this stage. However, by the 1850s, advertising of band instruments was starting to increase. In 1858, The Musical Times published no less than 22 advertisements for brass instruments. Part of the explanation for the increase in advertising was that the advertising duty had been abolished in 1853. Also, advertising in newspapers and periodicals was likely to reach a greater number of people than ever before. The abolition of the stamp duty in 1855 made newspapers cheaper and therefore accessible to a wider market. Some newspapers, such as Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, were already developing a popular appeal, assisted by the enhanced opportunities for distribution which the railways provided. Therefore, a single advertisement could now

- (161) The Musical Times, 1 March 1854, p370.
- (162) The Times, Monday 5 September 1859, p15.
- (163) Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, Sunday 11 September 1859  
(1st ed.), p6.
- (164) Gammon 1986, p123.



reach a very large number of people.

Advertisers were not just becoming influential in promoting band instruments; they made a deliberate effort to encourage the growth of brass and wind bands. An advertisement placed by Boosey & Sons in The Musical Times in 1854 stated that the firm kept a register of experienced bandmasters for those bands requiring a leader. (161) In 1859, an advertisement in The Times stated that Rudall, Rose, Carte and Company would supply 'Guides for the Formation of Bands' free of charge. (162)

vi) 'Enlivening the scene': The middle classes and bands

The view that banding was a 'rational recreation', a means of regulating the behaviour of the working class, was probably an important motive for some of the middle-class people who gave support to bands. In 1859, the committee which organised the Sunday bands in Regent's Park stated that these bands represented an 'innocent enjoyment of the people'. (163) In the same year, a meeting was held to form a band at Ashford (Kent), at which a local clergyman carried the motion that 'as the object of this meeting is to promote innocent recreation... the band shall not meet for practice at any inn or public house'. (164) In 1838, the subscribers to the Modbury band exercised their right to repossess the

(165) See DeRO Z7/Box 19/7e, minutes of subscribers, 30 November 1838. It is difficult to know what this 'improper' behaviour was. Several bandsmen left the band at about this time, alleging that this was due to the 'misconduct' of one of the protagonists in this affair, the trombonist Robert Cove. The ex-members of the Modbury band planned to form another ensemble with 'other persons of steady habits' - this may suggest that drink was involved. (DeRO Z7/Box 19/7d)

(166) Herbert 1988, p61.

(167) Gammon 1986, pp126-7.

(168) Russell 1987, pp171-2.



band's instruments because of the 'improper conduct' of two of the musicians. (165) The middle classes' reluctance to serve as bandsmen may also have been a consequence of the view that bands existed to improve the morality of the lower orders.

However, bands were not only supported by the middle class in order to provide 'improving' recreation for the lower orders. As in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, bands in this period were often supported as entertainment for the wealthier members of society. Trevor Herbert's article on the Cyfarthfa band from South Wales has shown that the band was established as a private band for the entertainment of the ironmaster Robert Crawshay and his associates. (166) At least one band in southern England was established on a similar basis; the Ockenden band from Cuckfield (Sussex) was formed as a private band by Sir W. Burrell, possibly as early as the late 1850s. (167)

The audiences at band performances often included middle-class individuals; Russell states that audiences for park performances by bands included both working-class and middle-class individuals, although the very poorest members of the working class were absent. (168) This seems to have been the case with outdoor band performances in southern England, which certainly attracted audiences which included individuals from the lower and middle classes; in 1856, the Berkshire Chronicle stated that

- (169) Berkshire Chronicle, Saturday 30 August 1856, p4.
- (170) Russell 1987, p171.
- (171) The West Briton, Friday 8 April 1853, p8.
- (172) Ibid., Friday 11 August 1854, p5.
- (173) See Bailey 1977, p8 et seq..

concerts given by the Berkshire militia band in Forbury Pleasure Grounds, Reading, 'bring together a large assemblage of the most respectable residents, as well as many of a humbler but not less respectable class'. (169) Russell claims that the audiences for contests and indoor band concerts were less mixed, being 'largely the preserve of the working class'. (170) This may be true with regard to the later nineteenth century. However, during the period covered by this chapter, (and indeed for some time afterwards) there is evidence that audiences for indoor band concerts included a number of middle-class people. The Truro Amateur Sax-Tuba band gave a concert at Truro Assembly Room in 1853 which was 'under the patronage of the members for the borough'. Their performance drew 'repeated and deserved applause from a respectable company'. (171) The following year, a concert of vocal and instrumental music at St. Austell Town Hall included items by Pascoe's Sax-Tuba band, 'which were heartily received by a most respectable audience'. (172)

One important reason for the middle classes' support for bands was that some middle-class people now had time and money to spare for recreation. Increased economic stability in the mid-nineteenth century brought some security for businessmen. Contentious political issues - such as the Corn Laws - had been resolved. (173) It would also appear that the middle classes - particularly the lower and middling middle class - were improving

(174) Best 1971, pp101-111.

(175) Berkshire Chronicle, Saturday 30 August 1856, p4.

(176) The West Briton, Friday 6 July 1838, p[2].



their financial position in the middle of the century. (174) Many of the villages, towns and cities of mid-Victorian Britain were perceived as dreary places, which were as short of appropriate recreation for the middle classes as they were lacking in working-class entertainments. Bands were therefore encouraged in order to fill this gap and provide suitable amusement for the middle classes. In 1856, the Berkshire Chronicle's report (mentioned above) on the Berkshire militia band's concerts in Forbury Pleasure Grounds included the comment that 'the intrinsic merits of the entertainment, and the liveliness of the scene, form a pleasing addition to the scanty stock of public amusements in Reading'. (175) Sometimes, this view of bands as an antidote to dreariness appears in reports of band performances, where the word 'enliven' is often used in connection with band music. In 1838, The West Briton stated that the Liskeard amateur band 'contributed much to enliven the scene by playing some charming and appropriate airs'. (176)

Some of the middle-class consumers of band music (like contemporary writers on bands, mentioned in Chapter 4) may only have been interested in the opportunities for self-improvement allegedly offered by the bands' 'art' music repertoire. However, generally speaking, middle-class audiences were not as unremittingly serious and intolerant of light music as some opinion-formers were;



(177) The West Briton, Friday 8 April 1853, p8.

like the audiences for band performances in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, they were prepared to listen to and enjoy programmes of light music. The 'respectable company' which heard the Truro Amateur Sax-Tuba band's concert at Truro Assembly Room in 1853 gave, according to The West Briton, 'repeated and deserved applause' to the programme of 'marches, airs, waltzes, polkas, galops, and popular melodies' performed on this occasion. (177)

The demand for light music shown by the middle classes (evidenced also in the considerable middle-class demand for parlour songs and piano arrangements of light music) was cutting against the grain of the demands of musical and social commentators for bands to play more 'art' music; the tastes of the Victorian middle classes were neither monolithic or inevitably characterised by moral earnestness.

The wealthier classes were more likely than the lower orders to be influenced by the views of writers on bands by virtue of their education and greater access to books, newspapers and periodicals. If the middle classes were not entirely convinced, one wonders what effect the prescriptions of writers on bands had upon the working classes. Moreover, the influence of middle-class audiences may have militated against the use of more 'art' music by bands and ensured that bands continued to play songs,

marches and dances as they had before. The middle classes were an important part of the audience for band performances and a potentially rich source of finance; bands - which needed to cultivate the broadest possible support - ignored the tastes of these people at their peril.

CHAPTER 6: VOLUNTEER BANDS IN THE LATE NINETEENTH  
CENTURY

- i) Introduction
- ii) Funding
- iii) The volunteers and the development of banding
- iv) Regional variations
- v) 'A question of prudence': bands and the  
motivation of the volunteer force
- vi) Bands associated with other auxiliary units

## CHAPTER 6: VOLUNTEER BANDS IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

### i) Introduction

In mid-nineteenth century Britain, there was growing anxiety about the threat of invasion. France (under the ominously-named Napoleon III) appeared formidable and expansionist. There was also doubt about the ability of the armed forces to withstand an attack. The militia, which had been in decline since the Napoleonic wars, were revived by the Militia Act of 1852. The militia were to be paid and subject to 21 days' training per annum. Continued uneasiness about national defence led to the government sanctioning the formation of large numbers of volunteer corps from 1859 onwards. It was intended that the members of the volunteer force would receive military training in their spare time; they were expected to attend 24 drills a year. In the event of an invasion becoming imminent, the volunteers were to come under martial law and assist in the defence of their localities. There were few compensations for the volunteers' commitment; although volunteers enjoyed exemption from the militia ballot, it was intended that they were to be unpaid - unlike the militia. There were other differences. While the militia consisted entirely of infantry, the volunteer force was more diverse. Most volunteers were infantrymen, but a number of artillery and engineer detachments were also



- (1) See Cunningham 1975, pp5-17 and Beckett 1982, pp5-38.
- (2) Berkshire Chronicle, Saturday 2 March 1861, p4.

formed, as well as a few cavalry units. The militia was usually officered by county families, while the ranks mainly comprised casual agricultural labourers; initially at least, it was envisaged that the members of the volunteer force would be made up from the wealthier classes of society - volunteers were expected to find the money to pay for their own uniforms and weapons.

Large numbers of volunteer units were established in the early years of the force. 133 corps were formed in 1859, 579 in 1860 and 36 in 1861. (1) It will be seen that the volunteers were to provide a great deal of patronage for bands, which encouraged and shaped the development of banding in a number of ways - although there were some regional differences in the force's impact. Also, as in Chapter 5, it will be shown that ideologies such as respectability and patriotism were not the only influences motivating the volunteer force or its bandsmen.

## ii) Funding

In some places, the new volunteer corps set up new bands. For instance, in 1861, the Reading volunteers advertised for men wishing to join a new band which was being formed by the corps. (2) However, it was more usual for the volunteers to take over and support bands which were already in existence. Thus, for example, the

(3) See Smith/[1], pp20-1. Henceforward, the abbreviation 'R.V.C.' stands for 'Rifle Volunteer Corps'.

(4) Volunteer Service Gazette, Saturday 2 June 1860, p2.

(5) See CROH DDX 100/560/2/5, which is a 'Memorandum of Terms made and agreed upon between the Eynesbury Saxhorn Band and the Saint Neots Volunteers', dated 21 June 1861.

Witney band turned itself into the band of the 5th Oxfordshire Rifle Volunteer Corps, (3) the Brighton Town band became the 1st Sussex R.V.C. band (4) and the Eynesbury Saxhorn band agreed to become the band of the St. Neots volunteers. (5) At first sight, it is therefore tempting to assume that the support of bands by the public went on much as before, with the difference that funds formerly provided for the local band were now channelled through the volunteers.

This assumption would be mistaken. Although there is only a little evidence concerning the finances of bands prior to the creation of the volunteer force, there are, nevertheless, indications that many volunteer bands enjoyed - at least initially - a much higher level of financial support.

Previously, bands had supported themselves from two main sources - firstly, the profits of band performances and, secondly, donations from the public and various institutions. The volunteers continued to make use of both of these forms of finance. Units organised concerts to raise money for their band funds. Often these would feature items by guest artists as well as by the corps band. For instance, the St. George's Rifles held a concert in aid of their band fund in January 1863. The programme included performances by the pianist Lindsay Sloper, the celebrated tenor Sims Reeves and the

- (6) See The Times, Tuesday 13 January 1863, p1 and Volunteer Service Gazette, Saturday 17 January 1863, p196.
- (7) Ibid., Wednesday 2 November 1859, p16.
- (8) Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, Sunday 16 December 1860 (1st ed.), p7.
- (9) Berkshire Chronicle, Saturday 16 January 1862, p4.
- (10) PP 1862 [3053] XXVII, pp134-5.



commanding officer of the corps, Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. C.H. Lindsay (who, rather surprisingly, played a cornet solo), as well as items by the corps band. (6) Volunteer units also raised money by attracting donations from the public. For instance, the volunteers' newspaper, the Volunteer Service Gazette, carried an advertisement in November 1859 calling for public subscriptions to fund the establishment of a band for the Marylebone Volunteer Rifles. (7)

However, the volunteers developed an even wider range of fund-raising techniques than their civilian predecessors. Various events were organised to provide money for bands. In December 1860, it was announced that the Central London Rifle Volunteers were putting on a theatrical performance at Sadler's Wells in aid of their band. (8) At Reading, a bazaar was held in February 1862 to raise money for the local rifle corps band. (9) In addition to attracting money from the public, the volunteers themselves paid subscriptions which guaranteed a large and regular income for their bands. Often the burden of these donations fell heavily upon the officers. This was the case with the 7th Surrey R.V.C., where the full cost of the band was met by the officers; they had to pay band subscriptions as well as contribute to a collection at the end of the year. (10) In his evidence to the 1862 Royal Commission on the Volunteer Force, Captain

- (11) PP 1862 [3053] XXVII, p166.
- (12) GLRO Acc. 534/8/[a]/[3], p[1].
- (13) One example was the West Middlesex Rifles; see The Times, Monday 27 August 1860, p9 - letter from H. Lang to editor, dated 24 August. See also the evidence of Lord Radstock, colonel of the regiment, to the 1862 Royal Commission; PP 1862 [3053] XXVII, p116 and p124.
- (14) Ibid., p138.

Ewens, adjutant of the London Rifle Brigade, gave details of the annual band subscriptions payable by the officers of his corps:

Lieutenant-Colonel	12 guineas
Major	10 guineas
Captain	7 guineas
Surgeon	7 guineas
Assistant Surgeon	5 guineas
Ensign	3 guineas (11)

Some units also required band subscriptions from privates and non-commissioned officers. The regimental orders for the 48th Middlesex R.V.C. for September 1864 stated that privates were each to pay 5/- per annum towards the band fund. Corporals had to contribute 7/6 every year, while sergeants had to pay 10/- and staff sergeants 12/6. (12)

In the early years of the force, some corps claimed that they devoted very little money to band expenditure. (13) However, several units admitted that they paid a great deal for their bands. Viscount Enfield, who was honorary colonel of the 29th Middlesex R.V.C., stated in 1862 that the band expenditure of his corps was nearly £300 per annum. (14) In September of the same year, it was announced that the band of the Reading R.V.C. had cost £253/11/7 since its formation in June 1861. This figure did not include a number of other expenses,

(15) Berkshire Chronicle, Saturday 26 September 1862, p4.

(16) See The Times, Tuesday 28 August 1860, p10 - letter from 'A Lieutenant General' [sic] to editor, dated 26 August.

(17) See PP 1862 [3053] XXVII, p166. It is striking that the adjutant of the corps, Captain A. Ewens, was prepared to admit extravagance of this kind to a Royal Commission.

(18) See Berkshire Chronicle, Saturday 26 September 1862, p4.

(19) GLRO Acc. 534/8/[a]/[1], p[1] - letter from G.R. Humphery to Lieut. de Carteret, dated 1 July 1863.



such as the cost of taking the band to camp. (15) The band of the London Rifle Brigade was notoriously expensive. In 1860, a letter in The Times claimed that the unit's accounts for the period between the foundation of the corps and 22 May 1860 (less than a year) showed that £620/9/- had been spent on instruments and wages for bandsmen. A further £35/5/- was apparently spent each month on instruments and remuneration for the musicians. (16) Even in 1862, the corps was still prepared to admit that it spent around £600 per annum on its band. (17) Although the case of the London Rifle Brigade was exceptional, the patchy evidence available would suggest that there was a very high level of band expenditure by many volunteer units in the first few years of the force's existence. It is also likely that the amount of funds available to volunteer bands was very much greater than the amounts which could be raised by their civilian counterparts.

After the first few years of the force's existence, it is clear that some volunteer bands were beginning to experience financial difficulties. In 1862, the members of the band committee of the Reading R.V.C. were already becoming worried about the cost of their band. (18) By July 1863, the wages of musicians employed by the 48th Middlesex R.V.C. had fallen into arrears. (19)

There were, perhaps, other indications that financial difficulties were beginning to beset volunteer



bands at about this time; some volunteers were calling for government assistance in maintaining their bands. In order to understand what follows, it is necessary to make a short digression into the arcane world of volunteer finance. Originally, it had been intended that the force was to be self-supporting, but the government soon lost sight of this objective as it became more involved in financing the volunteers. One of the chief forms of government assistance was the capitation grant (instituted in 1863), which was an allowance paid by the government to each unit. The size of the payment received by a corps depended on the number of 'effectives' it had. Men were only considered as 'effectives' if they were present in the ranks for drill on a given number of occasions in a year. (Initially, volunteer regulations did not allow a volunteer's attendance as a bandsman to count towards his being certified as 'effective'.) Efficiency regulations were later tightened. If a volunteer was to remain 'effective', he had to attain a certain basic standard in musketry. The expenditure of the capitation grant was supposed to be restricted to what were termed 'necessary expenses': payments made for the upkeep of headquarters, drill grounds and rifle ranges, for the maintenance of arms and for the provision of clothing, stationery, postage and forage. Initially, bands did not count as a necessary expense. However, in 1867, a report on volunteer finance, by a committee of volunteer officers, stated that

(20) PP 1867 (184) XLI, p815.

(21) Volunteer Service Gazette, Saturday 4 May 1867,  
p353.

(22) PP 1878-9 [c.2235] XV, p328.

a few corps wanted an allowance made for bands. (20) In the same year, the Volunteer Service Gazette announced that it was supporting 'the capitation grant being made applicable to the payment of bands as a legitimate military expense'. (21)

Some corps may even have been misappropriating part of the capitation grant in order to pay for their bands. In his evidence to the Bury committee of 1878, Captain Ball, adjutant of the 1st Middlesex Volunteer Engineers, stated that his corps had recently started paying the capitation grant earned by the band direct to the bandmaster. He made no mention of military duties undertaken by the band in order to obtain this. Nor did he mention any restrictions on how the money was to be used; rather, he implied that this was to be used to meet band expenses. (22) The fact that Ball was prepared to admit this to an official enquiry suggests that the appropriation of the capitation grant for band purposes was tolerated by the authorities and therefore may have been widespread.

The financial difficulties experienced by volunteer bands may have been caused by a general decline in interest in the force as fears of invasion subsided; people were, perhaps, less prepared to contribute large sums of money to the volunteers when the country was no longer perceived to be in danger. The problems of volunteer bands may also have come about because the

(23) Berkshire Chronicle, Saturday 7 June 1862, p5.

(24) PP 1862 [3053] XXVII, -p138.

(25) Berkshire Chronicle, Saturday 26 September 1862, p4.

(26) GLRO Acc. 534/9/[1] - letter from A. Dorsett to Cruikshank, dated 13 July 1864.



initial level of band spending was so high that it could only be sustained for a short time. Very soon, the volunteers' supporters started to complain because they considered that they had put enough money into bands. In June 1862, an angry letter from a subscriber to the Reading R.V.C. band was published in the Berkshire Chronicle. The writer was objecting to a scheme to make a charge for admission to the band's concerts in Forbury Gardens. He asked, 'have they not, in all conscience, dug already deep enough into our pockets?' He stated that local people could not be 'continually pandering to what would seem as inordinate greed of gain'. (23)

Perhaps to take account of diminishing public support, volunteer units started to reduce their band expenditure from the early 1860s onwards. By 1862, the commanding officer of the 29th Middlesex had already attempted to disband one of the two regimental bands. (24) In September of the same year, it was announced that it was impossible for the band of the Reading R.V.C. to continue 'upon its present expensive footing' and that the committee were to 'reorganise' it. (25) By 1864, some sort of reorganisation of the band of the 48th Middlesex also seems to have taken place. (26) A reduction in band expenditure was likely in any case, because, by the early 1860s, volunteer bands had negotiated the initial and most expensive phase of their existence, in which they had



to purchase instruments, uniforms and music. By this time, expenditure would probably have been less, since it only had to cover the cost of maintenance.

Despite a decline after the first few years, volunteer band spending remained high in comparison to the amounts which had been raised for civilian bands in the mid-nineteenth century. There are two main sources which confirm this. The first is the Bury Departmental Committee report, which was submitted in 1878. This committee had been established by the War Office to enquire into the finances and organisation of the volunteer force. The committee sent out a letter requiring the commanding officers of volunteer units to report on their expenditure for the years from 1873 to 1877 inclusive. The results of this survey were used to construct Appendix 7 Table I of the report, which purported to show the average (i.e., the mean) annual expenditure for each unit for the period 1873-7 inclusive under a number of different heads. The figures in column L gave the average annual band expenditure of each corps. 109 units from southern England were listed in the table. 7 of these failed to provide returns of their expenditure for one reason or other. Using the figures giving the annual band expenditure for each of the 102 corps in southern England which did make a return, the mean annual band expenditure for this period was (after rounding to the nearest pound) £123. The

information in the Bury report has also been used to construct the following grouped frequency distribution.

Table 6.1: Grouped frequency distribution showing the levels of average annual band expenditure of volunteer units in southern England for the five years from 1873 to 1877 inclusive.

(Source: PP 1878-9 [c.2235] XV, p425 et seq..)

Average annual band expenditure (£sd)	No. of units
0-49.19.11	15
50-99.19.11	30
100-149.19.11	23
150-199.19.11	18
200-249.19.11	12
250-299.19.11	2
300 and over	2
n/a (some units made no return)	<u>7</u>
Total - 109	

(27) These were: 29th Middlesex [Rifle] Corps and the 38th Middlesex [Rifle] Corps.

(28) These were - with average annual band expenditure for each - 1st London [Rifle] Corps [London Rifle Brigade] (£398.9.0); 3rd London [Rifle] Corps (£257.10.6); 22nd Middlesex [Rifle] Corps (384.16.6); 2nd Ad. Bn. Somersetshire [Rifle Corps] (£297.4.4).

Only two units from southern England indicated that they spent nothing at all on bands. (27) It will be noticed that a majority of the corps making returns - 57 out of 102 - claimed to have spent more than an average of £100 a year on bands for the period of the survey. Furthermore, 16 units stated that their average band expenditure was £200 or more per annum. 4 corps (mainly from the London area) each admitted that they spent very large amounts indeed - £250 or more on average - on bands. (28)

A second source of information is the report of the Volunteer Capitation Committee of 1887. As its name suggests, the Volunteer Capitation Committee was appointed to consider the question of volunteer finance. It also required volunteer units to provide detailed returns of their expenditure - this time for the period from 1881 to 1885 inclusive. Appendix B of the report of the Volunteer Capitation Committee was a table similar to that compiled by the Bury Committee, purporting to show the average annual expenditure of each unit under several heads, for the period covered by the enquiry. One of the columns in the table gave average annual band spending. 4 of the 106 units listed from southern England failed to provide the committee with details of their expenditure. The mean annual band expenditure for the remaining 102 volunteer corps in southern England was (after rounding to the



nearest pound) £122 - almost the same as the mean for the period 1873-7. The information on band expenditure in Appendix B of the Capitation Committee's report has also been used to construct the following grouped frequency distribution.

Table 6.2: Grouped frequency distribution showing the levels of average annual band expenditure of volunteer units in southern England for the five years from 1881 to 1885 inclusive.

(Source: PP 1887 [c.4951] XVI, p280 et seq..)

Average annual band expenditure (£sd)	No. of units
0-49.19.11	21
50-99.19.11	17
100-149.19.11	35
150-199.19.11	19
200-249.19.11	5
250-299.19.11	4
300 and over	1
n/a (some units made no return)	<u>4</u>
Total - 106	



(29) These units were - with average annual band expenditure - London - 1st [Rifle] Volunteer Corps (£270); Middlesex - 5th [Rifle] Volunteer Corps (£281); Middlesex 13th [Rifle] Volunteer Corps (£362); Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry 1st Volunteer Battalion (£262); Norfolk Regiment 3rd Volunteer Battalion (£256).

When these results are compared with those for 1873-7, it appears that a larger proportion of the units making a return - 8 out of 102 - claimed that they spent nothing on bands. However, there is still evidence of a high level of band spending; a greater proportion of corps in southern England - 64 out of 102 furnishing details of their expenditure - claimed that they spent £100 or more on average each year on bands. Furthermore, the number of units claiming average annual band expenditure of £250 or more had now risen to 5. Again, the majority of these were from the London area. (29)

Some of the band expenditure claimed by units in response to the two surveys may have included spending on other items, such as fife and drum bands, which fall outside the scope of this study. However, I believe that the figures for average annual band expenditure given in the 1878 and 1887 reports understated the full extent of support given to brass and wind bands by the volunteers. I have several reasons for this opinion. Firstly, both committees had been set up to review the question of volunteer finance and the categories of 'necessary expenses' which could be covered by the capitation grant. It has already been shown that some volunteers wished bands to be considered as a 'necessary expense'. In order to win support for this proposal, it was essential to convince the authorities that band spending would be sensible and moderate. There may therefore have been a

(30) PP 1887 [c.4951] XVI, p274.

(31) PP 1878-9 [c.2235] XV, p425.

temptation to underestimate current band expenditure. Secondly, as the Volunteer Capitation Committee noted, it is likely that the returns of some corps did not include expenditure funded by officers. (30) There is a little evidence that this occurred in connection with band expenditure in the survey carried out by the Bury Committee. The table of corps' expenses in the committee's report does not give a figure for the average annual band expenditure of the 3rd Durham [Artillery] Corps. Instead, the table contains a note stating that this unit's band was entirely supported by its commanding officer. (31) It would have been a major omission if any of the figures for band spending given in the two reports did not include expenditure defrayed by the officers; it will be remembered that officers' subscriptions were an important source of funding for volunteer bands. Thirdly, some of the costs of running bands may have been subsumed under other headings. For instance - although there is no evidence for this - it is possible that, in the 1878 survey, some units included their expenditure on band uniforms under general clothing expenses (listed in column H of Appendix 7 Table I) thereby giving an artificially low figure for spending on their bands.

In addition to raising money by the means described above, volunteer bands were able to rely on a certain amount of government encouragement and funding in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In 1881, the

(32) Regulations for the Volunteer Force, 1881, p77  
(para. 459).

(33) Beckett 1982, p116.

(34) Regulations for the Volunteer Force, 1895, p139  
(para. 613A).

(35) Ibid., 1895, p83 (para. 379).

(36) Ibid., 1896, p137 (para. 613A). This put into force  
the recommendations of the 1887 Volunteer Capitation  
Committee - see below.



regulations for the volunteer force allowed bandsmen to count their attendances at battalion drill as bandsmen towards their being classed as 'efficient'. This dispensation was limited in scope; it could only apply to a maximum of 3 bandsmen for each company present at the drill. Furthermore, it did not apply to drills other than those at battalion level. (32) Nevertheless, this did represent a small degree of official encouragement for volunteer bands.

In his history of the force, Beckett has stated that 'The Government never considered bands to come within the provisions of the necessary expenses covered by the capitation grant'. (33) However, paragraph 613A of the volunteer regulations for 1895 stated that it was permissible for the capitation grant to be used for 'Band expenses'. (34) There was no restriction on this apart from an injunction that 'Undue expenditure on bands... is to be especially discouraged'. (35) The regulations governing the use of the capitation grant for bands were tightened in the 1896 regulations. These stated that the amount of government money used on bands should not exceed  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the efficiency and proficiency grants payable. (36)

There are two explanations for the support afforded by the government to volunteer bands. Firstly, it has already been shown that there had been pressure since the 1860s for bands to be classed as a 'necessary

(37) PP 1887 [c.4951] XVI, p274.

(38) See Beckett 1982, p83.

expense'. By the last decade or so of the century, it was becoming hard for the War Office to resist this pressure without inviting the charge of inconsistency, since the bands of the regular army were now receiving some government funding. The Volunteer Capitation Committee of 1887 recognised this when they stated in their report that

a portion of the expenditure on Bands in the Regular Army has been recognised as a public charge, and we think a similar view should be taken of expenditure on Volunteer Bands, Drummers, and Buglers to the extent of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the Capitation Grant. (37)

Secondly, it is possible that government support was given to bands to ease the problems caused by the changing social profile of the force. Even by the late 1860s, few of the gentry and the upper middle class were prepared to serve as officers; this meant that the force was deprived of wealthy members and income. (38) It may be that the government decided that it should cushion the impact upon bands of the decline in the income of the force.

The unusually high level of funding provided for bands by the force was a major factor influencing the development and expansion of banding in the late nineteenth century. The volunteers' impact upon banding is given further consideration in the next section.

(39) In 1861/2, after the band had failed to fulfil its commitments, the band committee acted to retrieve the items provided by the corps. A list of these is given in Smith/[2], p[10] and it includes an Eb clarinet, 2 fifes, a drum and a set of uniforms.

(40) See Brown 1960, p169.

(41) Volunteer Service Gazette, Saturday 1 September 1860, p5.



### iii) The volunteers and the development of banding

While the force was responsible for the creation of only a few new bands, the fact that volunteer bands generally enjoyed a higher level of funding than their civilian counterparts had a number of other consequences. Those civilian bands taken over by their local volunteer corps underwent a process of reinvigoration. When the Witney band became the band of the 5th Oxfordshire R.V.C., the corps apparently provided new uniforms and some instruments. (39)

In most places, bandmasters of volunteer bands were similar in their background to bandmasters of civilian bands in the mid-nineteenth century; bands were often conducted by local amateurs or serving or retired military bandsmen. For instance, in about 1900, the bandmaster of the band of F company (Bungay) the 2nd battalion, the Norfolk regiment was a printer. (40) In 1860, the band of the 19th Kent (Rochester) R.V.C. was 'under the superintendence of an experienced corporal of the Royal Engineers' Band'. (41) However, perhaps because they could afford to pay large salaries, a few corps (especially in the London area) made use of quite eminent musicians as bandmasters, thereby introducing an element of professionalism which had been unusual among southern bandmasters before 1859. Thomas Sullivan (father of the composer, Sir Arthur Sullivan) was bandmaster of the



- (42) See The British Musician, August 1893, p198.
- (43) See The British Bandsman and Orchestral Times, 1 November 1888, p33.
- (44) See *ibid.*, September 1890, pp276-7.
- (45) See The British Musician, August 1893, p199; see also the title page of D'Almaine & Co's Brass Band Library.

volunteer band at Broadwood's piano factory from 1860 until his death in 1864. At this time, Sullivan was professor of clarinet at the newly-established school of military music at Kneller Hall. (42) A.J. Phasey, a former member of the Coldstream Guards band and a celebrated professional ophicleide, trombone and euphonium player, was another Kneller Hall professor who conducted a volunteer band; he became bandmaster of the St. George's Rifles in 1868. (43) Albert Morelli, who became bandmaster of the London Scottish and later the 1st London Engineer Volunteers, had been a former military bandmaster; he was bandmaster of the 76th Foot from 1865 to 1878 and bandmaster of the 2nd battalion, the Warwickshire Regiment, from 1878 to 1883. He also served as bandmaster to a number of Indian regiments. From 1884 onwards, Morelli arranged most of Lafleur & Co's band music. (44) Henry Sibold succeeded Sullivan as bandmaster of the Broadwood band; he was also to conduct the bands of the London Rifle Brigade and the Victoria Rifles. Sibold was later to be described as 'one of the most eminent bandmasters at that time'. He had been bandmaster of the Bombay Lancers and was the editor of D'Almaine & Co.'s Brass Band Library. During his career, he became bandmaster of the military bands at the Crystal Palace and at Cremorne, bandmaster of the City of London Militia and musical director of the Lord Mayor's show. (45)

It is not clear what the effect of the employment of

(46) PP 1852 [3053] XXVII, p150.

(47) See, for instance, The Musical Times, 1 June 1862, p264 and *ibid.*, 1 April 1869, p52.

(48) Regulations for the Volunteer Force, 1881, p73 (para. 423).

(49) See Brown 1950, p169.

(50) See Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, Sunday 15 September 1861 (1st ed.), p7 - a report of a review of volunteer cadets at the Crystal Palace, which mentions a 'cadet brass band'.

such capable musicians was. For the bandmasters themselves, conducting a volunteer band may have been a lucrative addition to a military pension. In 1862, the bandmaster of the London Scottish was paid £50 per annum; in return, he was expected to conduct the band, maintain the instruments of the corps, arrange music and engage players. (46) For the bands, the use of experienced and able musicians as bandmasters may have enabled them to reach higher standards of performance than had previously been attained; certainly, the Broadwood band under Sullivan and Sibold received complimentary reviews in the musical press. (47)

The volunteers also made provision for the training of new bandsmen. The volunteer regulations of 1881 stated that boys aged between 12 and 17 could be enrolled as bandsmen or trainee bandsmen, although the number of these was not to exceed 12 per corps. (48) In some units, the boys were given a good musical education; this seems to have been the case with the boys of the band of F company (Bungay) the 2nd battalion the Norfolk regiment. (49) There was also at least one volunteer cadet band, which apparently catered for boys aged between 10 and 16. (50) The body of young instrumentalists trained by the volunteers may have been one important source of players for the bands established in the late nineteenth century.

While other factors were involved, it may be that the increased demand for music, instruments and accessories



(51) The title page of the first issue of D'Almaine & Co.'s Brass Band Library stated that the music was specially arranged for rifle corps and other bands.

(52) Scott 1970, p36. Hillyard was himself a volunteer bandsman; he played baritone with the Victoria Rifles and (later) the St. George's Rifles in London. (See Rose 1895, pp230-1.)

(53) See The Times, Monday 8 September 1862, pl.

(54) Ibid., Tuesday 28 July 1863, pl. It may be, of course, that the march played in 1863 was the same as the march played in 1862 and that Jackson had merely changed the title of the piece.



brought about by the establishment of the force contributed to the expansion of the commercial infrastructure of banding. The demand from the force remained considerable; the data in the surveys undertaken by the Jury and Volunteer Capitation committees indicate that, in the 1870s and 1880s, an aggregate of over £12,000 was being spent annually on bands by volunteer corps in southern England and it will be remembered that this was probably an underestimate.

A few serial publications of band music began at about the same time as the establishment of the force. Chappell's Brass Band Journal was first published in 1860. The first issue of D'Almaine & Co's Brass Band Library appeared in 1861. (51) One or two firms manufacturing band instruments also began production at about this time, namely Hawkes and Co. (1860) and William Hillyard (1862). (52)

The foundation of the force also led to a small expansion of the band repertoire; a number of pieces (usually marches) were composed with the volunteers in mind - just as numerous items had been written for their Napoleonic predecessors. For example, Enderby Jackson's Rifle Corps March was on the programme to be played by the massed bands at the Crystal Palace band contest of 1862. (53) Jackson's National Volunteer Artillery and Rifle Corps March was advertised as one of the items to be played by the massed bands at the 1863 contest. (54) A few

- (55) The British Musician, August 1393, p193.
- (56) GLRO Acc. 534/8/[a]/5, p[3].
- (57) The Times, Friday 23 May 1962, p12.
- (58) See *ibid.*, Wednesday 22 August 1960, p5 - letter to editor from Capt. Murray, dated 21 August.
- (59) See Igglesden 1999, p140.
- (60) PP 1862 [3053] XXVII, p150.

pieces were dedicated to particular units. Rene Favarger is supposed to have written a Pas redouble for the Broadwood volunteer band. (55) In 1862, a programme for a concert given by the 48th Middlesex R.V.C. included a performance by the regimental band of a Grand March of the 48th Middlesex Rifles by Carl Favouris. (56)

A few contests were organised specially for volunteer bands. For instance, a contest for volunteer bands took place at Cambridge in May 1862. (57)

A much-criticised aspect of the force was the payment of bandsmen. Not all corps did this; for instance, in 1860, the musicians of the 16th Middlesex R.V.C. were only paid if they had to take a whole day off work. (58) In many corps, though, volunteer bandsmen were semi-professionals, receiving small fees for their services; for instance, in 1864, the 29th Kent (Ashford) R.V.C. paid their bandsmen 1/- each for playing at a parade, 2/- each for marching out of the parish and 4/- each for battalion drills. (59) Although these sums were quite small, they were important because they were welcome additions to a working man's wages and enhanced the attractiveness of banding as a recreation.

The use of professional conductors has already been mentioned. A few units - particularly those in the London area - used professional bandsmen, sometimes at great expense. The adjutant of the London Scottish stated in 1862 that his corps had 'a professional band'. (60) The

(61) See The Bristol Gazette, and Public Advertiser, Thursday 10 May 1960, p5 and *ibid.*, Thursday 17 May 1960, p6.

(62) See The Times, Friday 7 December 1960, p10 - letter from Lord Truro to editor, dated December 6. See also Volunteer Service Gazette, Saturday 24 November 1960, p77 and *ibid.*, Saturday 22 December 1960, p134.



notoriously extravagant London Rifle Brigade band employed several well-known professional musicians. In May 1860, it was announced in the local press that the band was to play at a fete organised by the Bristol, Clifton and West of England Horticultural Society. The band was to be conducted by J.H. Tutton (formerly bandmaster of the Royal Horse Guards) and was to include the members of Distin's Ventil Horn Union, a professional brass band. Amongst the players were Henry Distin himself, as well as Prospère and Duhème - who had been members of Jullien's famous orchestra. (61) The National Rifle Volunteer band was organised by Lord Truro in 1860 with the aim of providing high-quality band music for the force on special occasions. The band gave at least two concerts in London in late 1860 and, as the Volunteer Service Gazette stated in November of that year, comprised 'fifty performers, who have been selected from the most eminent instrumentalists in London'. Some of these musicians - notably the cornetist Levy and the ophicleide player Samuel Hughes - were amongst the finest contemporary exponents of their instruments. (62) Some of the better professional bands may have served as useful role models for other volunteer musicians. However, the expenditure of volunteer funds on professional bands meant that, in aggregate, less money was available to subsidise amateur (and semi-professional) volunteer musicians.



(63) See, for instance, The British Bandsman and Orchestral Times, May 1839, p191, which is an advertisement for players for a London volunteer band. See also Brown 1960, p169.

(64) See *ibid.*, pp158.

(65) See Berkshire Chronicle, Saturday 26 September 1862, p4.

(66) The Times, Monday 16 September 1872, p9 and Tuesday 17 September 1872, p10.

(67) The Bristol Gazette, and Public Advertiser, Thursday 3 May 1860, p6.

Bands associated with the volunteers had numerous opportunities to perform, and, no doubt, gave the amateur and semi-professional musicians who made up the bulk of volunteer bands a great variety of musical experience. There was the regular commitment of rehearsals, which usually took place at least once a week. (63) Also, at least once a week, the corps band was expected to play for drills. (64) Bands often went with their parent units to camps or reviews. (65) Sometimes, volunteer bands accompanied parties of volunteers on overseas visits, thereby providing bandsmen with a rare opportunity for foreign travel. For instance, the band of the Victoria Rifles, conducted by Sibold, accompanied a volunteer trip to Belgium in 1872. (66) The social events organised by a unit often required the band to play; at a banquet held in Bristol in 1860 to celebrate the arrival of guns for the Bristol and Gloucestershire Volunteer Artillery, two volunteer bands played alternately. (67) In addition to all this, volunteer bands took an important part in the civilian social life of their area, playing for many different events - such as processions, concerts, national celebrations, fetes, sports days, dances and bazaars. While all this was, no doubt, a useful and (sometimes) an interesting experience, the energy and commitment required from the bandsmen was considerable, especially because most volunteer musicians had to put in long hours at work as well.

#### iv) Regional variations

At first sight, there is little difference between the level of support afforded to banding by volunteer corps in southern England and the level of funding provided by units elsewhere in England. 104 units from the north and midlands were listed in Appendix 7 Table I of the Bury Committee's report. 3 failed to make returns. The committee's figures for average annual band expenditure for the remaining 101 give a mean annual band expenditure of (after rounding to the nearest pound) £122, only £1 less than the figure for the south. The Bury Committee's data on volunteer band expenditure have also been used to compile Table 6.3, a grouped frequency distribution showing levels of band spending for corps in the north and midlands. It will be noticed that this table is very similar to Table 6.1, which shows the levels of band expenditure of units in the south.

Table 6.3: Grouped frequency distribution showing the levels of average annual band expenditure of volunteer units in the north and the midlands for the 5 years from 1873 to 1877 inclusive.

(Source: PP 1878-9 [c.2235] XV, p425 et seq..)

Average annual band expenditure (£sd)	No. of units
0-49.19.11	16
50-99.19.11	29
100-149.19.11	22
150-199.19.11	17
200-249.19.11	12
250-299.19.11	5
300 and over	-
n/a (some units made no return)	<u>3</u>
Total - 104	

However, while there are several similarities between the patterns of band spending in the south and the patterns of spending elsewhere, there are some differences, which are not made clear by considering the mean or Table 6.3 above. It may be that the volunteers made less of a contribution to the development of amateur

(68) See Cunningham 1975, p45 et seq.. The force was somewhat weaker in the midlands, where volunteering was never quite as popular as it was elsewhere.

(69) See Ehrlich 1985, pp52-3.



banding in the south than they did in other regions. This was not because the force was less concentrated in the south than it was in the rest of England; initially, the proportion of the male population involved in volunteering was greater in London and the south-east than it was in the rest of England - although the spread of the force was later to become more even. (68) Rather, it was because a greater proportion of corps in the south made an insignificant contribution to the funding and encouragement of amateur (and semi-professional) bands than was the case in the north and midlands. If an average band expenditure of less than £10 per annum is defined as insignificant, (although it should be borne in mind that the units' claims regarding band expenditure were probably understatements of the true position) the figures from the Bury report show that 4 corps from the south came into this category. 2 of these claimed that they had spent nothing at all. In the north and midlands, 2 corps stated that they spent £10 or less. Of these, only 1 corps indicated that it spent nothing at all.

Professional volunteer bands made little contribution to the development of banding amongst non-professionals. It is probable that these ensembles made up a greater proportion of volunteer bands in the south; professional musicians were particularly concentrated in the London area in the late nineteenth century, although professional music in the provinces was beginning to expand. (69)

(70) Beckett 1932, p29.

(71) Ibid., p103 et seq..

Therefore, it is likely that a slightly smaller proportion of volunteer corps in southern England contributed significantly to the development of banding than was the case in the north and the midlands. This regional variation in the assistance offered to amateur banding by the volunteers was one way in which southern bands received less patronage than their northern counterparts. Other deficiencies of southern patronage for banding are dealt with in the next chapter.

v) 'A question of prudence': bands and the motivation of the volunteer force

Beckett has claimed that 'it cannot be denied that the predominant motive force behind the Volunteer Movement was patriotism and the sense of duty'. (70) He also states that the Force came to be identified as a 'rational recreation', which promoted social integration and disciplined behaviour amongst the lower orders. (71) Volunteer bands are a case study which might help to gauge just how prevalent these motives were amongst those associated with the Force.

There are two striking facts about the volunteer force. Firstly, it is clear that bandsmen constituted a very large proportion of many corps. Harfield's article on the great volunteer review at Salisbury in 1867 gives

(72) Harfield 1967, p165.

(73) See Volunteer Service Gazette, Saturday 4 May 1967, p349 and p353.

(74) Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, Sunday 1 September 1873 (5th ed.), p1.

(75) However, it should be remembered that the figures for total annual expenditure may be a little low; just as the figures given for band expenditure were probably underestimates, it is probable that some of the other expenditure may have been understated for one reason or another.



details of the strength of the 1st battalion of the Wiltshire Rifle Volunteers, which was present on this occasion. The battalion comprised 604 officers and men, including 73 bandsmen. 5 of the 3 detachments making up the battalion brought bands with them. Bandsmen accounted for 26 out of the 102 officers and men of the 1st (Salisbury) corps. (72) In the same year, a review of units from Devon and Dorset was held at Exeter, at which 127 out of the 700 volunteers present were bandsmen. One corps from Torquay mustered 55 men; 22 of these were bandsmen. (73) Eleven years later, Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper gave the strength of the 5th Kent Artillery as 107 officers and men, of which 23 were bandsmen and buglers. (74)

Secondly, band expenses accounted for a large proportion of the total expenditure of many volunteer units. It is possible to use Appendix 7 Table I of the Bury report to form some idea of the average total annual expenditure claimed by each corps for the period from 1873 to 1877 inclusive. Total average annual expenses can be calculated by taking the figure given in the table as the total amount needed by each unit to cover its expenses. To this should be added the amount earned by the corps from various sources (such as the letting of ranges), which the committee subtracted from the total annual expenditure figures. (75)

Using the report's information on band expenses,



it is possible to form some idea of what percentage of each unit's average total annual expenditure was represented by band spending. This data has been used to construct Table 6.4, a grouped frequency distribution showing the different proportions of total average annual expenditure spent on bands by corps in southern England. Percentages were rounded to give whole numbers only.

Table 6.4: Grouped frequency distribution showing the various proportions of total average annual expenditure devoted to band spending by volunteer corps in southern England, from 1873 to 1877 inclusive.

(Source: PP 1878-9 [c.2235] XV, p425 et seq..)

Percentage of total average annual expenditure spent on band	No. of units
---	--------------

0-4	17
5-9	43
10-14	28
15-19	10
20-24	2
25-29	-
30 and over	2

n/a (some units made no return)	<u>7</u>
---------------------------------	----------

Total - 109

It will be noticed that the majority of units making returns (60 out of 102) claimed to have spent between 0 and 9 per cent of their total average annual expenditure on bands. However, a large minority (42 out of 102 making returns) appear to have devoted 10% or more of their annual expenditure to band expenses. 4 of this latter group admitted that band spending accounted for 20% or more of their outgoings.

It is possible to use the figures given in Appendix B of the report of the Volunteer Capitation Committee of 1887 in a similar way. (In this case, the committee did not deduct income from the total expenditure and it is therefore a little easier to determine how much each unit claimed to spend in an average year.) This information has been used to construct Table 6.5 below.

**Table 6.5:** Grouped frequency distribution showing the various proportions of total average annual expenditure devoted to band spending by volunteer corps in southern England, for the period from 1881 to 1885 inclusive.  
(Source: PP 1837 [c. 4951] XVI, p280 et seq..)

Percentage of total average annual expenditure spent on band	No. of units
0-4	31
5-9	54
10-14	15
15-19	2
n/a (some units made no return)	<u>4</u>
Total - 106	

Although fewer units admitted spending a large proportion of their total expenditure on bands, still a sizeable number (17 out of 102 making returns) stated that band expenses accounted for 10% or more of their total annual outgoings. It must also be stressed once more that the figures for band spending given in both the 1878 and the 1887 reports were probably understated.

The presence of large numbers of bandsmen in the volunteer force militated against its military efficiency

(76) Volunteer Service Gazette, Saturday 4 April 1953, p282.

(77) GRO D1426/1, p[170] - entry for 26 March 1933.

(78) It is even possible (although I have no evidence for this) that bandsmen's attendances as bandsmen at other drills were also counted towards their being certified as efficient. There are certainly other indications of irregularities in the running of bands.



and its usefulness as an agency of 'rational recreation'. Of course, bands (as will be shown) were not militarily useless. Nor were all bandsmen. In some corps, the bandsmen drilled in the ranks and took part in rifle practice, thereby making themselves 'efficient'. It was reported in 1868 that the members of the London Rifle Brigade's Amateur Band (apparently the corps possessed an amateur band as well) undertook to make themselves 'efficient'. (76) The orderly book of the Stroud R.V.C. recorded in 1888 that the bandmaster, R. Knight, had qualified as a marksman. (77) However, even in units where bandsmen became 'efficient', it is likely that they were less proficient in drill than non-bandsmen and that some corps were carrying a large number of what may be termed second-rate soldiers. This was because bandsmen had to attend a smaller number of drills in the ranks to be classified as efficient. In the late nineteenth century, it will be remembered that bandsmen could count a certain number of attendances at battalion drills as bandsmen towards their efficiency. (78)

The extravagance of some units in band expenditure had other consequences which were damaging to the force's military effectiveness. Part or all of the money spent on bands could have been allocated to other items of greater military value. Also, the heavy burden of band subscriptions for the officers of some corps was one of the causes of the force's persistent officer shortage,



(79) See Cunningham 1975, p59.

(30) See Volunteer Service Gazette, Saturday 4 May 1967,  
p353.

which was to have a disastrous effect upon volunteer discipline. (79)

Furthermore, the expense of maintaining some volunteer bands hampered the force in its role as an agency for the 'improvement' of the working class. It has already been shown that some corps expected non-commissioned officers and other ranks to pay band subscriptions. The high cost of some of these was sufficient to deter many working men from joining the force.

Part of the reason for the numerical and financial importance of volunteer bands was organisational. At least initially, much of the force was made up from administrative battalions. These were composed of numerous small, isolated rural corps. If these local units required military music, they needed to set up their own bands; this had the result that the proportion of bandsmen in these units was often high. (80) The consolidation of administrative battalions, which took place mainly after the Bury report of 1878, had the consequences that the force was organised in larger units and that the balance between bandsmen and non-bandsmen was altered. This may explain the difference between the proportion of volunteer finance used for bands during the period 1873-7 and the proportion of volunteer outgoings devoted to bands in 1881-5.

Nevertheless, the fact that a great deal of manpower

(81) The Times, Monday 20 August 1860, p9 - letter from 'A Lieutenant-General' to editor, dated 17 August. See also the evidence of Major Hughes (former commanding officer of the 19th Middlesex R.V.C.) to the Royal Commission of 1862, in which he stated that 'We made a strong resistance to any band'. (PP 1862 [3053] XXVII, p152.)

(82) The Times, Wednesday 22 August 1860, p5 - letter from Capt. Charles E. Murray to editor, dated 21 August.

and money was devoted to bands meant that the military and social reforming objectives of the force were compromised to some extent; this raises doubts about the motivation of the volunteers. One wonders how committed the force really was to patriotism or to the moral 'improvement' of the working class.

These doubts appear less well-founded with regard to many of those in the upper reaches of the military hierarchy. Most senior officers wished to avoid a high level of band spending. Some held opinions similar to those of 'A Lieutenant-General', who stated in a letter to The Times in 1860 that 'Rifle Corps at least do not want or require bands'. The writer maintained that volunteer bands should be abolished, possibly excepting a few county bands which could play for special occasions. In this way, the force could avoid lavish band expenditure, which 'directly tends to excluding the services of the artisans and poorer persons who otherwise would enrol themselves'. (81) Other senior officers, while sympathetic to the idea of bands, sought to ensure that they were provided without very much expense; Captain Charles Murray, commander of the 16th Middlesex R.V.C., extolled the virtues of unpaid bands in a letter to The Times in 1860. (82)

Others opposed excessive band expenditure and attempted to ensure that the costs of maintaining bands did not prevent the force attracting working-class recruits. Lord Elcho, commander of the 15th Middlesex

(83) The Times, Wednesday 15 August 1860, p5 - letter from Lord Elcho to editor, dated 13 August. See Beckett 1982, p275 for a short biography of Elcho.

(84) Regulations for the Volunteer Force (1881), p77 (para. 455).



(London Scottish) R.V.C. and a leading Parliamentary advocate of the volunteers, wrote a letter to The Times in 1860 which condemned extravagance in band spending and other matters. He urged that bands should be funded out of a 'special [officers' and supporters'?] subscription' rather than being financed by 'the funds of the corps' - by which he seems to have meant subscriptions amongst the rank and file. He claimed that this would make volunteering cheaper and a more attractive recreation for working-class men, thereby furthering the work of the force in promoting social integration. (83)

The opposition of many of the leading figures in the force to bands attaining undue prominence was also reflected in the volunteer regulations, which, as has been shown earlier in this chapter, discouraged excessive band spending. The regulations contained a number of provisions which limited band spending; for instance, the 1881 regulations for the force stated that only one band was allowed to appear with any corps at inspection. No more than 3 bandsmen were allowed to appear as bandsmen for each company present. Any musicians above this quota had to remain in the ranks. (84)

Those senior officers who were enthusiastic about volunteer bands tended to justify the existence of bands on the grounds that they were improving military efficiency. Bands were seen as useful for lightening the step of units on parade; in 1860, Captain Murray declared

(85) The Times, Wednesday 22 August 1860, p5 - letter from Capt. Charles E. Murray to editor, dated 21 August.

(86) Volunteer Service Gazette, Saturday 10 March 1860, p214.

(87) See Cunningham 1975, pp33-51.

in his letter to The Times that 'all Volunteers will agree that a "marching out" without a band of some sort, would become a rather dismal business'. (85) It is also possible that some senior officers saw bands as important because they encouraged good relations between the force and the public. In 1860, the Volunteer Service Gazette, reporting on a recent performance by the band of the St. Pancras and North Middlesex R.V.C., stated that the band had 'won for the corps the greatest public favour'. (86)

It may be, of course, that other unstated motives, apart from patriotism and a desire to promote respectability, influenced senior officers; some may have wished to keep band expenditure low in order to reduce the level of their own band subscriptions or because they were indifferent to music. However, I have found no evidence for this.

Much of the pressure for high band spending seems to have come from the junior officers and men, who were drawn from the middle and working classes. (87) There is evidence that the threat of opposition, (at first, some units had councils at which volunteers could express grievances) resignation (volunteers could resign from the force if they gave 14 days' notice) or even non-cooperation by the lower ranks compelled often reluctant corps commanders to maintain bands - sometimes at great expense. When giving evidence to the Royal Commission of 1862, Captain Page, adjutant of the London Scottish, was

(88) PP 1862 [3053] XXVII, p150.

(89) Ibid., p139.



asked whether his unit would continue to run smoothly if it had no band. He replied, 'Certainly not' and stated, 'I think it would be impossible to keep the corps together without a band'. Although the London Scottish were commanded by Lord Elcho, an opponent of lavish band expenditure, Page admitted that their band cost 'about 200 l. [per annum] or rather less'. (88) Viscount Enfield, honorary colonel of the 29th Middlesex R.V.C., told the Royal Commission that his corps had two bands, costing nearly £300 per annum in total. The expense of maintaining these was causing financial problems. Attempts to reduce the unit's band expenditure met with fierce opposition from officers and men; Enfield said that, at regimental council meetings and annual meetings

the volunteers would get up and say that unless they had the advantage of two bands to accompany them when they marched out the regiment would probably not attend; and last year, on Whit Monday, an incident occurred. We were to march out into the country for battalion drill. The drum and fife band attended, but the full band did not attend, and several of the men fell out and said that they would not go out unless they had the two bands to accompany them. (89)



(90) PP 1862 [3053] XXVII, pp138-9. Of course, it may be that some volunteer commanders were willingly spending large sums on bands and were attempting to shift responsibility for this onto their men. In this way, they would have been conforming outwardly to the official view that excessive band expenditure was undesirable, while reaping the benefits of expensive bands. However, it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which this occurred - if it took place at all.

(91) Ibid., p135.

Enfield was asked by Lord Elcho: 'Without a band, I suppose there would be great difficulty in getting the men to march?' He replied, 'I think it would be almost impossible'. Elcho then asked: 'And the extent to which the band is carried is entirely a question of prudence?' Enfield answered that it was. (90)

The lower ranks' co-operation seems to have been conditional upon the force's expenditure of a great deal of resources on bands. Furthermore, these volunteers sought to protect their bands, even when extravagant band spending - and the protective action they took - could have harmful consequences for the social and military purposes of the force. This hardly indicates that the lower ranks were fired by patriotism or respectability. Rather, it suggests that many junior officers and men volunteered in order to take advantage of the social facilities of their corps, of which the band was a prominent example. For them, their local unit was a kind of social club; something of this atmosphere is caught in the comments of Major Beresford, commander of the 7th Surrey R.V.C., to the Royal Commission of 1862:

Nothing tends to bring the men together as a band; and when it plays on the parade ground, the members come there and bring their friends with them, and they can walk about there just as well as they could in a park. (91)

(92) Smith/[1], p21.

(93) Berkshire Chronicle, Saturday 23 August 1862, p5.

Some bandsmen seem to have been prepared to play for the volunteers for little remuneration. Smith claimed that the Witney band agreed to become the band of the 5th Oxfordshire R.V.C. 'free of expense or reward'. (92) However, other bandsmen were responsible for pressurising their units into spending large sums of money on bands. Bandsmen's wage demands particularly infuriated observers. It has already been mentioned that one of the subscribers to the Reading R.V.C. was complaining of the cupidity of the unit's bandsmen in 1862. In the same year, the Berkshire Chronicle, referring to the recent discontinuance of performances in Forbury Gardens by the volunteer band, stated that it was rumoured that 'the musicians are dissatisfied with the remuneration they receive' and complained that 'This is not the first time by a good many that the public have complained that the band puts an excessive pecuniary value on its efforts'. (93) The fact that some bandsmen were demanding payments which boosted band expenditure considerably does not indicate that they were motivated very much by patriotism. Nor does it suggest that they became involved with the force solely because of its associations with respectability.

There are certainly indications that, far from being respectable, some bandsmen were capable of extremely disreputable behaviour - even when on duty and under the supposed constraints of military discipline. The Ockenden

(94) Albery 1944, p319. Albery gives no date for this incident.

(95) Volunteer Service Gazette, Saturday 25 July 1868, p531 - letter from 'A Commissioned Officer of Volunteers' [n.d.].

(96) Ibid., loc. cit..



band became attached to the local volunteer corps; on one occasion, the adjutant of the unit became so exasperated with the bandsmen's poor discipline that he ordered them off the parade ground. (94) In 1868, 'A Commissioned Officer of Volunteers' wrote to the Volunteer Service Gazette, claiming that the behaviour of volunteer bandsmen brought the force into disrepute. He stated that bands were 'notorious for straggling away from their corps and, feeling themselves under no sort of constraint and acknowledging no authority whatever'. (95) Off duty, bandsmen could also behave in a highly unrespectable manner; the correspondent mentioned above also gave an account of a railway journey he had made in the company of some volunteer bandsmen. He complained that they were 'pushing each other about on the platform and using the most disgraceful language'. On the train, two of them were too drunk to stand; one challenged a passenger to a fight; there was swearing in the presence of women and three of the bandsmen attempted to evade payment for their journey. (96)

Therefore, many volunteer bandsmen, like many of the lower ranks of the force, were probably less motivated by patriotism and respectability than they were by other considerations. Bandsmen may have been attracted to join

(97) Cunningham 1975, p104.

the force by the promise of wages or by the various musical benefits they or their band might receive. (See section iii) of this chapter.) Bandsmen and non-bandsmen may also have been motivated by a desire to take advantage of the social facilities which the force could provide. This view of the motivation of the lower ranks of the volunteers accords less with Beckett's opinion and more with that of Hugh Cunningham, who states in his study of the force that 'the recreational facilities offered within the Force loomed larger than patriotism'. (97)

It remains to consider the motivation of the supporters of the volunteer force's bands. Patriotism may have been an important factor. The period where the largest sums were provided for volunteer bands was the initial phase of the force's existence, where the threat of invasion and patriotic feeling were greatest. However, like the supporters of civilian bands in the mid-nineteenth century, those middle-class people who subscribed to volunteer bands may have been (at least initially) as concerned to enhance the musical facilities of their localities as they were to support the patriotic and military work of the force. In 1861, the Berkshire Chronicle, attempting to enlist public support for the Reading R.V.C. band, stated that this should be

(98) Berkshire Chronicle, Saturday 23 March 1861, p5.

(99) Brass Band News, 1 July 1883, p[2].

(100) See, for instance, Berkshire Chronicle, Saturday 7 June 1862, p5 - letter from 'A Subscriber' to editor.

(101) Ibid., Saturday 31 March 1862, p4.



forthcoming because the band would be 'quite as largely devoted to the general recreation, as to regimental requirements'. (98) Some volunteer bands - such as the Exeter Rifle Volunteer and City band, founded in 1883 (99) - were established with the explicit aim of providing entertainment for the local people as well as music for the force. Subscribers became dissatisfied if volunteer bands only confined themselves to their military duties; at Reading, the subscribers to the local volunteer band complained that the band was not giving sufficient public performances. (100) Furthermore, instead of 'improving' the allegedly reprobate lower orders, the volunteer band at Reading was apparently intended to provide amusement exclusively for those who were already respectable and who had a little money to spare. In 1862, the Berkshire Chronicle reported a plan to charge 3d admission to the band's performances in Forbury Gardens. This, the writer claimed, would not deter many people but

would serve to prevent the "riff-raff" of the town from crowding into the gardens and thus preventing the attendance of those by whose means the band is principally supported. (101)



(102) The West Briton, Friday 30 June 1837, p[2].

Of course, it would be unwise to generalise from a small amount of evidence; but it may be that, for the first twenty or thirty years of the force's existence, some of the supporters of volunteer bands - like much of the volunteer force - were at least as concerned to create more amusements for themselves as they were with idealistic motives such as patriotism and respectability.

vi) Bands associated with other auxiliary units

While the volunteer force was a very important source of patronage for banding, other auxiliary units provided support for bands in the Victorian period. Despite the reduction in the size of the armed forces in the years after the Napoleonic wars, the vestiges of yeomanry and militia units remained in existence. A few of these had bands associated with them. In 1837, the band of the Cornwall Yeomanry played in a procession which took place at Helston to mark the proclamation of the Queen's accession. (102) On coronation day, 1838, the

(103) Gloucester Journal, Saturday 30 June 1838, p[3].

(104) The Musical Times, 1 March 1854, p370.

Gloucester troop of Yeomanry Cavalry marched through the streets of Gloucester, accompanied by 'its capital band'.  
(103)

The militia was revived by the Militia Act of 1852. Not surprisingly, a number of militia bands seem to have been established at about this time; this appears to be the implication of the following advertisement, which was printed in The Musical Times in March 1854:

Military Musical Instruments. - Militia Regiments, or parties forming Bands and in want of Instruments, Music, or a Band Master, are invited to apply to Messrs. Boosey and Sons, 28, Holles-street, Military Instrument Manufacturers and Music Publishers to Her Majesty's Army, and the Hon. E.I.C.'s Service. The high character of their Instruments and Journals, for a Reed or Brass Band, are known throughout the Army. A register kept of the most experienced Band Masters. (104)

(105) The West Briton, Friday 12 October 1855, p5.

(106) Brass Band News, 1 February 1883, p[5].



The militia and yeomanry continued to support bands in the mid- and late Victorian period. While I have found little evidence relating to these units, I have the impression that the militia and yeomanry had a relatively small impact upon the development of banding.

Some units only supported bands during the annual training period or when they were on active service. Thus, the 2nd Cornwall Rifle Militia engaged the Launceston Amateur band to play for them for 4 weeks in each of the years 1854 and 1855. The band was expected to play for the militia three times a week: it was to accompany the regiment's church parade on Sunday and it was also required to give two evening performances of an hour each. (105) In the late nineteenth century, the (Queen's Own) Dorset Yeomanry engaged the Blandford band and (later) the Bournemouth Professional Town band to play for their annual period of training. (106) In at least one case, a militia regiment maintained a band throughout the year. After the Crimean war, an attempt was made to keep the band of the Berkshire militia permanently at full strength in association with the regimental depot. It was argued in the local press that the band would enhance the recreational facilities of Reading and the surrounding

(107) See Berkshire Chronicle, Saturday 28 June 1856, p4  
and *ibid.*, Saturday 12 July 1856, p4.

(108) See, for instance, *ibid.*, Saturday 2 August 1856,  
p5.

(109) See, for example, *ibid.*, Saturday 23 March 1857;  
p4.

(110) *Ibid.*, Saturday 17 January 1857, p4.

(111) *Ibid.*, Saturday 30 May 1857, p4.

(112) *Ibid.*, Saturday 20 May 1865, p4.

area and would be particularly useful for providing music for fetes and other public occasions. (107) For a short time, this scheme was successful. The militia band gave a number of outdoor concerts in 1856 and 1857. (108) It took part in promenade concerts at Reading's New Hall. (109) The bandmaster of the band was also attempting to secure other types of engagement in the winter of 1856-7; in January 1857, the Berkshire Chronicle carried an advertisement which stated that 'Music for Evening Parties, Soirees, Fetes, &c., may be obtained on very reasonable terms on application to Mr. J. McCrohan, Bandmaster of the Royal Berks Militia'. (110) However, after an initial period of enthusiasm, support for the band diminished; in May 1857, it was being reported that it was in danger of folding. (111) By the 1860s, the scheme to maintain the Berkshire militia band at full strength had been abandoned. Instead, the regiment seems to have kept up a small musical establishment throughout the year and augmented this for annual training periods. A report in the Berkshire Chronicle in 1865 reported that there was much regret that 'the militia band is not kept up in its full strength all the year round. If it were it would no doubt soon become a really excellent band'. (112)

(113) The West Briton, Friday 12 October 1855, p5.

(114) Ibid., loc. cit..

(115) Berkshire Chronicle, Saturday 20 May 1882, p5.

(116) See *ibid.*, Saturday 12 July 1856, p4 and *ibid.*,  
Saturday 26 July 1856, p5.



Bands could gain a great deal by becoming associated with the militia; in 1854, the Launceston Amateur band were provided with instruments, uniforms and music by the 2nd Cornwall Rifle Militia. Beer was allowed to the musicians on each occasion the band was required. After playing for the regiment in 1855, each of the players was given ten shillings and a supper. (113) Like many other bands in the nineteenth century, yeomanry and militia bands appear to have been funded by money raised through subscriptions; often, much of this came from the officers of the unit concerned. The officers of the 2nd Cornwall Rifle Militia provided the instruments and music for the regimental band. (114) In 1882, it was reported that the band of the Berkshire Yeomanry had been 'reconstituted and improved through the liberality of the officers'. (115) In 1856, the more prosperous local inhabitants also contributed to the cost of the band of the Berkshire militia, which was funded partly by the officers of the regiment and partly by local notables. (116)

However, the amount of patronage provided for bands by the militia and the yeomanry was probably much less in aggregate than that available from the volunteer force, which was much more numerous and - as has been shown earlier in this chapter - sustained a perennially high



level of band expenditure.

CHAPTER 7: BANDING IN SOUTHERN ENGLAND, c.1860-c.1900

- i) Introduction
- ii) The middle class
- iii) The working class
- iv) Commercialisation
- v) "'Nationalising" the movement': band  
contesting in southern England

- (1) The Times, Monday 29 September 1902, p11.
- (2) Gammon 1986, p132.
- (3) See Andrews 1907.

## CHAPTER 7: BANDING IN SOUTHERN ENGLAND, c.1860-c.1900

### i) Introduction

Chapter 5 showed that banding expanded in southern England in the middle of the nineteenth century. While there is little statistical evidence relating to the number of bands in the south, there are, nevertheless, indications that banding continued to expand in the late Victorian period and for some time afterwards. Furthermore, this expansion probably quickened.

Some contemporaries referred to the increasing popularity of banding in the south. A correspondent for The Times, writing in 1902, stated (somewhat erroneously) that 'The cult of the brass band, though it was for a long time largely confined to the northern counties, is now spreading rapidly southwards'. (1) This impression is confirmed by local studies. Gammon, writing of rural Sussex, stated that bands 'became more numerous and more significant in the second half of the nineteenth century'. (2) In 1907, the Luton trombonist William Andrews published a pamphlet on banding in Luton. This contains short histories of local bands, which show that 10 bands were established in the Luton area between 1860 and 1896. 4 more were founded between about 1903 and 1906. (3)

Also, the average size of bands was increasing in the

- (4) See list of bands at contest at Exeter in 1861 - The Western Times, Saturday 10 August 1861, p3.
- (5) See photograph in Hailstone 1987, p10.
- (6) See photograph in Parsons 1937, p14.
- (7) See list of players, ERO D/Z 81/14, pp[2-3].
- (8) Jackson 1972, p30.
- (9) See photograph - WSRO RSR PH 14/28.



late nineteenth century. I have found details of the strength of 5 amateur bands from the west country, dating from the period 1861-2. These are given below:

band	no. players
Kingsbridge (Devon) band (1861)	10
The Dawlish (Devon) Rifle corps band (1861)	9
Teignmouth (Devon) Artillery band (1861)	12
The Torquay (Devon) Rifles band (1861)	11 (4)
Sidmouth (Devon) Town band (1862)	14 (5)

By way of comparison, I have found details of the strength of 4 bands dating from the 1890s:

band	no. players
Wellington (Somerset) volunteer band (1890)	21 (6)
Woodford (Essex) Military band (c.1892)	20 (7)
King's Lynn (Norfolk) Police band (1895)	17 (8)
2nd V.Batt. Royal Sussex Regt. band (c.1898)	18 (9)

This evidence (based admittedly on small samples) points to a considerable increase in the average size

(10) Brass Band News, 1 October 1886, p[4] - report on contest at Newquay by adjudicator, S. Traise.

of bands. The mean strength of the 5 bands from the early 1860s was (after rounding to the nearest whole number) 11 players. The sample of bands dating from the 1890s had a mean strength of 19 musicians.

Although there is therefore evidence that banding was expanding in southern England in the late nineteenth century, it is likely that the pace of expansion varied at some times and in some areas. For instance, in 1886, a report in the Brass Band News stated that banding in Cornwall was going through a difficult period because of low wages and a high rate of emigration. (10)

One of the factors influencing the expansion of banding was the support afforded to bands by the volunteer force, considered in detail in Chapter 6. There were other influences upon the growth of banding, many of them particularly associated with this period; these are dealt with in subsequent sections.

## ii) The middle class

The middle class played an important part in the expansion of banding. Throughout the late nineteenth century, they were to continue to provide funding for bands. Industrialists and members of various organisations were prepared to support bands - although it will be seen that industrial patronage for banding in the south was

(11) ERO D/Z 81/13, pp[5-6], minutes of committee meeting for 20 October [1890].

(12) See ERO D/Z 81/1, pp114-118. See also p126, p132, p135, p140, p148 and p206 for the amounts subscribed 1892-8.

(13) Rose 1895, p307.



rather different to that enjoyed by bands elsewhere. The most important single category of bands - those supported by public subscription - received a great deal of middle-class support. For example, when the Woodford band was being formed in 1890, circulars soliciting contributions were sent to 500 of the 'principal inhabitants' of the locality. (11) The band came to rely quite heavily upon regular annual subscriptions from a number of the more prosperous people of the area; these were providing the band with £30-40 per annum in the 1890s. (12)

Bands also gained respectability (and perhaps useful advice) as a result of their association with prominent local figures. It will be shown later that members of the wealthier families in the Woodford area lent their support to Woodford band by serving as honorary presidents and vice-presidents. Middle-class people also chaired the public meetings at which bands were launched. In 1895, Algernon Rose devoted one of the chapters of his Talks with Bandsmen to the subject of 'How To Form a Brass Band'. Considering the question of who should chair the initial public meeting which established a band, he stated that 'Getting a distinguished personage to occupy this position gives weight'. (13)

Middle-class people were also involved in expanding the number of open-air band concerts in public places in the late nineteenth century, thereby providing more



engagements for amateur bands. In a few cases, the bands playing in public places were composed of professionals; the better of these were to serve as role models for amateurs. These performances also made band music accessible to even the poorest people in Victorian society and helped to further the popularity of bands amongst the lower classes.

In the late nineteenth century, two categories of open-air band concerts in southern England owed a great deal to middle-class initiative and support. The first of these - band concerts organised or subsidised by wealthy individuals or by various philanthropic organisations - seems to have expanded during the period covered by this chapter. Such concerts had taken place in the mid-nineteenth century; for instance, the band concerts organised in the London parks by the National Sunday League from the mid-1850s onwards were mentioned in Chapter 4. However, there appears to have been an increase in the number of individuals and organisations promoting outdoor concerts in the final quarter of the century. In summer 1889, the band of H division of the Metropolitan Police was playing at the recreation ground, Baker's Row, Whitechapel on alternate Mondays. These performances were subsidised by Samuel Montagu, the local M.P.. In the same year, Stuart Samuel, the London County Council member for Whitechapel, offered to provide money so that a concert

- (14) The British Bandsman and Orchestral Times, August 1889, p243.
- (15) The Orchestral Times and Bandsman, August 1891, pp143-4.
- (16) See The Times, Wednesday 17 August 1887, p13.
- (17) The Musical Times, 1 July 1882, p376. See also The British Bandsman and Orchestral Times, 15 August 1888, p213.
- (18) The Musical Times, 1 May 1884, p266.
- (19) Ibid., 1 August 1890, p467.

could take place each week. (14) The Queen's Park military band (founded 1883) were giving concerts in Queen's Park, Kilburn in about 1891. These were at least partially funded by a public subscription list organised by the Queen's Park Band Aid Society, chaired by John Aird, another M.P.. (15) The Kyrle Society (founded 1877) was promoting 4 band concerts per week in London parks by summer 1887. (16) The Park Band Society was founded under the chairmanship of the Duke of Albany in 1882. The society (which had its own military band) organised a large number of band concerts in Regent's Park and Hyde Park during the summer months. (17) These were financed by some of the more prosperous members of society; they were paid for by subscriptions and by a charge paid by those taking a seat within the enclosure round the bandstand. (18)

The support of some middle-class people was also important in establishing another category of outdoor band concert - those funded by local government. The earliest examples of this category date from the last decade or so of the century. In 1890, The Musical Times criticised Brighton town council for offering only £300 to any musician who was prepared to run a town band of 30 instrumentalists; it was claimed that this was inadequate and that the band would need to supplement its income by making collections. (19) Despite this, it would appear that a band supported by a local government grant was in



(20) See Lowerson and Myerscough 1977, p87.

(21) The Orchestral Times and Bandsman, August 1891, p213.

(22) Ibid., March 1892, p55. John Hartmann (b. Auleben, Prussia, 1830) was a cornet player in a Prussian army band before emigrating to England in 1854. After a short period as a trumpeter in the newly-formed Crystal Palace band, Hartmann soon became a military bandmaster, serving with a number of regiments - the Tyrone militia, the 1st (King's) Dragoon Guards, the Royal Sherwood Foresters (Nottingham Militia), the 2nd Battalion (King's Own) 4th Foot, the 12th Lancers and the 35th Regiment. After leaving the army, Hartmann devoted himself to arranging and composing band music. (See *ibid.*, April 1891, pp98-100.)

(23) Ibid., June 1892, p128.

(24) Ibid., loc. cit..

place by the following year and that others were in existence elsewhere at about this time. (20)

Almost certainly the largest amount of municipal support for bands was provided by the newly-established London County Council. In 1891, the council began to subsidise band performances in the parks. (21) Despite some opposition, the LCC also began (in 1892) to fund a professional municipal band as well as providing subsidised concerts by other bands. A parks band was established; it consisted of 45 ex-army bandsmen and was conducted by John Hartmann. (22) Despite the availability of a number of good military bands and professional musicians in the metropolis, most of the bands hired from time to time by the LCC were made up of amateurs or semi-professionals. The Orchestral Times and Bandsman reported in 1892 that professional musicians complained that 'a great number of these bands are made up of working men who only take up music in their spare time or when it pays them best'. (23)

The pattern of the council running its own professional band and hiring others was to continue into the next century. Its support for bands was also to increase dramatically. In 1892, a total of about 600 subsidised band performances by about 50 bands were planned; these were to take place on Saturdays, Sundays and early closing days between May and September. (24) By the 1897 season, the LCC was supporting no less than 833



- (25) The Times, Friday 24 December 1897, p5.
- (26) The Orchestral Times and Bandsman, August 1891,  
p213.
- (27) The Times, Monday 12 December 1898, p5.
- (28) Russell 1987, p44 et seq..

band concerts. (25) In 1891, the amount set aside by the council for subsidised band concerts was £1500. (26) By 1898, the Parks and Open Spaces Committee were asking the council for £9000 to cover the cost of music in the parks in 1899. (27)

Facilities for popular musical education increased during the period covered by this chapter. This assisted the development of banding because, at the very least, it ensured that greater numbers of working people had some musical knowledge. The governing classes were influential in encouraging the expansion of musical education in schools during the period covered by this chapter. In the mid-nineteenth century, schoolchildren were not always taught music and, where music was studied, the quality of teaching was variable. In 1871, some impetus was given to school music by the decision that state elementary schools should lose a shilling per child from their grant if no music was taught. This provision had only limited value. Much of the teaching remained of variable quality and in many schools, children received no education in how to read music, being taught 'by ear'. However, in 1883, schools were given an incentive to teach some form of musical literacy; a grant of a shilling per child became payable if the school taught music 'by note' - either using conventional or solfa notation. (28)

Other facilities for popular musical education expanded in the late nineteenth century. The choral

- (29) The Brass Band Annual and Bandsman's Companion,  
1896, p36.
- (30) See The Musical Times, 1 August 1884, pp452-3.

societies, like bands, attracted middle-class support as agencies of 'rational recreation'. These may have provided basic musical knowledge for a number of bandsmen. G. Dimmock, who was to be the soprano cornet player with the Luton Red Cross band, began his musical career as a chorister in North Street Wesleyan Chapel choir in Luton. (29) After the abolition of the paper duty in 1861, books, newspapers and periodicals became cheaper and more accessible to the working man. All of these types of publication (particularly the burgeoning specialist musical press) were sources of musical information. Access to them was improved still further by the opening of free public libraries in many areas during this period.

Eminent musicians, charitable organisations and others were responsible for the organisation of a number of exhibitions and musical festivals in southern England in the late nineteenth century. Some of these provided engagements for southern bands. Also, in a number of cases, high-class bands were brought to the south from the provinces and from abroad; the performances of these may have done something to stimulate enthusiasm for banding. For instance, the Health Exhibition took place in 1884, and featured performances by the band of the Magdeburg Cuirassiers from Germany, the Guides band from Belgium and the Versailles Engineers band from France as well as the British Guards. (30) The Irish Exhibition, held at Olympia

(31) See The Times, Wednesday 22 August 1888, p9.

(32) The British Bandsman and Orchestral Times, 1 November 1888, p31. The first three bands in the first contest were (1st) Wyke Old, (2nd) Leeds Forge, (3rd) Wyke Temperance.

(33) The Times, Tuesday 18 June 1895, p1.

(34) See, for instance, The Brass Band Annual, and Bandsman's Companion, (1898), p53 and p56 which shows that the competing bands included Wyke Temperance, Black Dyke Mills and Kingston Mills.

(35) Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, Sunday 14 January 1900 (5th ed.), p8.



in 1888, included performances by military bands as well as by some bands from Ireland, one of which (the Barrack Street band from Cork) caused a furore because of its refusal to play God Save the Queen at the end of their programme. (31) The exhibition's organiser, Lord Arthur Hill, also arranged two brass band contests, the first of which attracted some of the leading bands from the north. (32) The International Music Trades Exhibition, held at the Royal Agricultural Hall, Islington in 1895, featured two band contests; the first (for the contesting bands of the north and midlands) brought some of the leading bands of the day to London, including Wyke Temperance (who won) and Besses o' th' Barn. This was followed by a contest for bands from the London area. (33) In 1897, it was intended to arrange a whole series of brass band competitions in association with the Victorian Era Exhibition at Earl's Court (the musical branch of which was run by Sir Arthur Sullivan). Although only some of these contests took place and the scheme was eventually abandoned, several of the leading brass bands took part. (34)

Perhaps the most remarkable of these musical festivals was the 'grand patriotic festival in aid of sufferers from the Transvaal war', arranged by the impresario John Henry Iles, which took place at the Albert Hall on 20 January 1900. (35) This concert generated a great deal of interest. Despite the poor weather, the

(36) Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, Sunday 21 January 1900 (5th ed.), p13.

(37) See Taylor 1979, p97.

(38) Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, Sunday 21 January 1900 (5th ed.), p13. The distinguished vocalists were Albani, Clara Butt, Edward Lloyd and Andrew Black. Taylor loc. cit. states that Bertha Flotow was among the soloists; I have found no evidence of this.

(39) The Times, Saturday 13 January 1900, p1.

(40) Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, Sunday 21 January 1900 (5th ed.), p13. Almost up to the last minute, the military band which was to be playing in the concert was advertised as the band of the Coldstream Guards. However, they do not seem to have taken part. The drummers were from the Duke of York's school - see The Times, Wednesday 17 January 1900, p1.

(41) Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, Sunday 21 January 1900 (5th ed.), p13.

(42) See *ibid.*, Sunday 21 January 1900 (5th ed.), p1.

hall was crammed; Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper estimated that 'Nearly 10,000 persons must have been present'. (36) Thousands more were turned away. (37) In addition to solos by a number of celebrated vocalists and some pieces performed by the London Kymric [sic] Ladies' Choir, the concert included individual performances by ten of the leading brass bands of the day. (38) The ten bands were: Besses o' th' Barn, Black Dyke Mills, Wyke Temperance, Hucknall Temperance, Nantlle Vale, St. Albans City, West Hartlepool Operatic, Arael Griffin, Clydebank and Kettering Rifles. (39) There were massed band items, in which the brass bands were joined by the band of the Royal Engineers, Chatham, and sixty drummers. (40) One of these was an adaptation of Sir Arthur Sullivan's popular song The Absent-minded Beggar as a band march. Iles managed to persuade Sullivan to conduct this. (41) It was announced that seven of the brass bands were to give concerts in the London area on the following day. (42)

There were a number of motives for the middle classes' support for bands. It will be remembered that bands often attracted middle-class funding and encouragement in the mid-nineteenth century because the middle classes themselves were consumers of band music. In some respects, band music remained popular amongst the middle classes of late Victorian England. Bands were still the main source of background music for a variety of occasions. Middle-class organisations and individuals made



(43) 1887 certainly witnessed the foundation of a number of bands in southern England. For instance, both the New Buckenham (Norfolk) Silver band (see Hill 1987, p[5]) and the Wellington Town band were founded in that year. (See Parsons 1987, p11.)

(44) The Western Times, Saturday 10 August 1861, p3.

(45) The Daily News, Wednesday 10 September 1862, p3.

use of bands to enliven events such as fetes and garden parties. Bands were also engaged by the organisers of local or national celebrations. It is probable that quite a few bands were specially founded to play for the jubilee festivities of 1887. (43)

However, it is likely that middle-class attendance at events at which bands were the centre of attention - such as band contests and indoor and outdoor band concerts - declined in the late nineteenth century. Indeed, after a short initial period of excitement provoked by the novelty of band contesting, not many middle-class people attended band contests. A few of the wealthier members of local society were present at a band contest in Exeter in 1861. A journalist noted that the audience contained 'a goodly sprinkling of the élite of the county'. (44) However, even in the early 1860s, it was proving difficult to attract middle-class people to band contests. A report on the Crystal Palace contest of 1862 stated that, for the afternoon concert by all the competing bands

The lower galleries and the transept itself were crowded, with the exception of the reserved seats (at half-a-crown), for which, probably owing to the absence of the fashionable world from London at this season of the year, there was no great demand. (45)



(46) The Daily News, Wednesday 24 July 1861, p3.

(47) The Musical Times, 1 May 1866, p296.

(48) The British Bandsman, 15 November 1887, p39.

(49) See, for instance, The British Bandsman and  
Orchestral Times, August 1890, p241.

Audiences seem to have been mainly from the lower classes. The Daily News, stated that the majority of the crowd at the first day of the 1861 Crystal Palace contest 'consisted of excursionists from all parts of the country'. (46)

In the 1860s, audiences at band concerts still included a number of the more prosperous members of society. For instance, the Ipswich Gas Works Brass Band gave a concert in April 1866 before 'a numerous and fashionable audience'. (47) However, the middle and upper classes became more reluctant to attend indoor and outdoor band concerts in the late nineteenth century. The British Bandsman ran a series of articles on [indoor] 'Band Concerts in Winter' in 1887-8. An important theme of these was the narrowness of the appeal of band concerts and the need for bands to attract the patronage of the respectable. In the first article, the author stated that attendance at a band concert was beneath the dignity of the wealthier classes. (48) Concerts in the parks (which had attracted large numbers of the respectable - and not-so-respectable - middle and upper classes in the middle of the century) came to be considered as catering largely for the poor by the late nineteenth century. (49)

There are a number of possible explanations for the increasing reluctance of the middle classes to attend band contests and concerts. They may have been influenced by the low status allotted to bands by musical commentators.

(50) The British Musician, August 1896, p186. The letter was originally sent to the vestry in charge of the recreation ground.

They might have been deterred from attending because of the rowdiness which sometimes affected band performances. In 1896, The British Musician reproduced a letter from the secretary of Fulham Borough Brass band, which stated that the band could not put on any further concerts at the Recreation Ground, Lillie Road

unless something is done to prevent the children throwing stones and otherwise disturbing the band, and also the bigger ones from indulging in shouting and fighting. We do not object to them joining in the comic airs with the band, but we do to the noise, as it prevents the respectable listeners from hearing the band... Three of the instruments were damaged by stones last night, although I will admit that the stones thrown were not aimed at the band-stand, but were missiles thrown by the boys at one another. (50)

Another explanation for the reluctance of middle-class people to attend these events was that the middle classes were developing a number of other recreations - many of them introverted and class-specific - in the late nineteenth century. Sports clubs and amateur orchestras were founded. The home was also a very important location



for middle-class leisure activity; musical evenings round the piano have come to be regarded as a quintessentially Victorian middle-class entertainment.

If the middle classes were therefore becoming less interested in supporting band music for their own consumption, other factors must be found to account for their role in the expansion of banding.

The growth of banding in the late nineteenth century coincided with a period in which, from the point of view of the wealthier members of society, the lower orders seemed to be increasingly threatening. The development of commercialised leisure gave rise to fears for the morals of the working class. Seaside resorts such as Brighton now faced periodic occupation by crowds of seemingly unruly, drunken day trippers, who made use of railway excursions to effect their 'mass breakout' from the metropolis. Other popular amusements - such as the music hall, with its risque songs and (initially) its association with drinking - worried middle-class observers. With the increasing popularity of socialism and the rise of a new, more militant type of trade unionism (exemplified by the dock labourers, the match workers and others) the future seemed to promise political instability and upheaval. This was particularly disturbing to some because the political orientation of the working classes had become of even greater significance, following the extensions of the



franchise in the Representation of the People Acts of 1867 and 1884.

The increasing support of the middle class for band music (and for other 'rational recreations' which assisted the development of banding) in this period may have been motivated by the desire for social controls to check what appeared as the rising tide of brutish working-class behaviour and radical politics. It has been shown earlier in this thesis that some middle-class people in the mid-nineteenth century supported music in general (and banding in particular) as a means of dealing with the twin threats of allegedly undesirable political activity and disreputable amusements amongst the working class. This view of music as a moral agency may have become more widespread in the later nineteenth century because it was continually articulated in lectures, books and periodicals by many commentators, and because it addressed what were seen as the social problems of the time.

There is certainly evidence that some bands in this period were supported by the more prosperous members of society in order to promote disciplined, respectable behaviour amongst the lower orders. The objectives of the Woodford Military band were decided in 1890 after consultations with a number of notables in the locality. These individuals were to be the band's president and vice-presidents. Their families were also to be important subscribers to band funds over the years. The president of

(51) For a list of officers, see ERO D/Z 81/13, p[2]. For details on Barclay see Jones [1387?], p40; for information on Buxton, see *ibid.*, pp40-1.

(52) ERO D/Z 81/13, p[3].

(53) *Ibid.*, p[4].

the band was H.F. Barclay, a Justice of the Peace and the High Sheriff of Essex. One of the vice-presidents was E. N. Buxton, a partner in the brewery of Truman, Hanbury, Buxton and Co., a deputy lieutenant of the county and a former Liberal M.P.. (51) The second of the 'Objects of the Band' was the following:

To provide interesting employment to a certain number of Woodford young men, and a centre of attraction to others, who, for want of something to interest them, hang about the street corners, and are thus open to every ruinous temptation which presents itself. (52)

The band was, in other words, established to keep working men off the streets and to serve as a counter-attraction to what were seen as less desirable pursuits. The band was also intended to assist other 'respectable' recreational organisations; the fourth objective of the band was that the band was intended to 'work with any select body in promoting rational amusements of a refined and elevating nature'. (53)

Bands were also supported for more overtly political motives; bands were used to encourage the development of 'safe' political opinions amongst the working class or, at the very least, political neutrality. Bands were used by

(54) Brass Band News, 1 September 1885, p[6]. The bands were: Wimborne Town band, Langton band, Talbot Village band, Hinton Martell band, Lytchett Minster band, Kingston band, Corfe Castle band, Swanage band, Wareham Town band, Poole Town band, Poole Rifle band, Wimborne Rifle band.

(55) The British Bandsman, 15 March 1888, p113.

(56) The British Musician, January 1893, p21 - letter to editor from J.H. Hay. I have found no references to bands being formed in connection with the Liberal party.

(57) ERO D/Z 81/13, p[3].

(58) Ibid., p[4].



the Conservative party to draw people to political meetings. Twelve bands took part in a grand Conservative demonstration at Canford Manor, Dorset, in August 1885. The bands led a procession from the local railway station and later played for dancing. (54) Of course, there was nothing new in this; bands had often been employed to drum up support for politicians in the past. However, it was a new development for bands to be formed by the Conservative party; the Lionel Cohen Primrose League band made its first appearance at Paddington Baths on 23 February 1888. (55) The North Oxfordshire Conservative band was in existence by 1893. (56)

Some patrons insisted that bands avoided any political involvement. The very first objective of the Woodford band was that it was 'To be a public Band unsectarian non-Political'. (57) Part of the fourth objective of the band may have been intended to prevent the Woodford musicians playing for demonstrations by strikers; it stated that 'It is not intended by the committee that this Band shall parade the streets, work-days or Sundays'. (58)

Like some of the writers discussed in Chapter 4, some middle-class supporters of bands may have been influenced by patriotic motives. Some people encouraged bands in order to complement musically what they saw as Britain's economic, political and military superiority. It was considered unfitting for Britain, the greatest power



(59) The British Bandsman and Orchestral Times, May 1890,

p170 - letter from W. Phillips to editor..

(60) Rose 1895, pxiii.

in the world, to lag behind in terms of popular music. This type of musical jingoism certainly seems to have been one motive for the support for the LCC's funding of bands. William Phillips, chairman of the Parks and Open Spaces Committee, stated that, if the council set up a municipal band, 'London, the greatest, richest city in the world, would in this respect no longer remain behind many fifth-rate cities on the continent'. (59)

To attribute the Victorian middle classes' support for bands only to a desire to control the working class, to nationalism and (to a decreasing extent) to a desire for suitable entertainment for themselves would be a distortion. Bands were also supported by the middle classes for humanitarian reasons; Algernon Rose, who was active in promoting banding in the metropolis, saw banding as an activity capable of restoring the mind of a workman after a hard day's work. He wrote: 'In a mental sense music makes a capital shower-bath'. (60)

- (61) The Orchestral Times and Bandsman, May 1891, p143.
- (62) Brass Band News, 1 October 1886, p[4] - a report on a contest at Newquay by the adjudicator, S. Traise.
- (63) Ibid., 1 October 1887, p[3].
- (64) See Cox 1987, pp[2-3]. Evers's father was also a publican. I am grateful to B.G. Cox of Blandford Forum museum for his notes on Evers.
- (65) Punch, vol. XLI (1861), p9, p32 and p51.
- (66) See for instance Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, Sunday 2 September 1866 (4th ed.), p3, which mentions a Grand Foresters' Demonstration which included performances by the bands of D and S divisions of police.

### iii) The working class

The social structure of banding changed little in the late nineteenth century. As before, bandsmen were usually drawn from amongst the more prosperous members of the working class. For instance, it was stated in 1891 that the members of the Queen's Park Military band were 'mostly mechanics, artisans, and railway servants'. (61) In Cornwall in the 1880s, bands were 'mainly composed of miners who work in the tin or copper mines'. (62) Unskilled workers - such as the 'coal-heavers or quay porters' which made up the Devoran (near Falmouth) band in 1887 - were fairly unusual. (63) Like the bands of the mid-nineteenth century, the bands of this period included a few individuals drawn from the lower middle class; for example, the bandmaster of the Blandford band in 1863 was Robert Evers (1817-1885), a publican, who was to become a councillor and mayor of the town. The band also included two of the Skivington family, who ran a local music shop. (64) The social structure of banding did change in one small way in the late nineteenth century; in 1861, Punch referred to the recent establishment of police bands. (65) By the mid-1860s, several divisions of the Metropolitan Police had their own bands. (66) Police bands were also formed elsewhere; King's Lynn police formed a brass

(67) Jackson 1972, p30. By 1895, the band was 17 strong.

If all the bandsmen were members of the police force, this would have been extraordinary; at this time, there were only 29 policemen in the town!

(68) Brass Band News, 1 April 1882, p[1]. Reduced subscriptions were payable by younger players.

(69) ERO D/Z 81/13, p[11] - minutes of meeting held on 12 February [1892].

(70) Brass Band News, 1 October 1886, p[4].



and wind band in the 1880s. (67)

The role of the working classes was not confined to supplying players for bands - although this was important. Much of the finance for the expansion of banding in this period was provided by working people. Bandsmen themselves met some of the running costs of their bands; indeed, the expense of being a bandsman was probably one reason why few poorly-paid unskilled workers joined bands. Many bands expected their members to pay an entrance fee (or returnable deposit, expected from new band members) upon joining as well as weekly subscriptions. A model set of band rules printed in the Brass Band News in 1882 specified that new members of bands should pay an entrance fee of 2/6, as well as 2d per week band subscriptions. (68) In practice, entrance fees and subscriptions may often have been higher; the rules of the Woodford band (dating from 1892) specified that new bandsmen had to pay an entrance fee of 5/- as well as 3d per week subscriptions. (69) Some bandsmen also had to find the price of their instruments; in 1886, the Brass Band News stated that a major problem of Cornish bands was the instruments being 'the property of each individual performer'. (70)

Other working people provided money for bands. The finances of some bands relied upon large numbers of donations of fairly small amounts of money. In 1887, the

- (71) Brass Band News, 1 September 1887, p[3].
- (72) Ibid., 1 March 1888, p[6], letter from A.H.B. Ellis to editor.
- (73) Rose 1895, pp300-355.
- (74) Parsons 1987, p11.

Brass Band News reported that one band had numerous honorary members, each paying ½d per week to band funds. (71) The secretary of Hampstead Rosslyn Hill band stated in 1888 that 'a great number' of people subscribed 5/- each per annum to his band. (72) It is probable that the level of these subscriptions was sufficiently low to allow a few better-paid working men to contribute. It is also possible that working people made small donations to bands giving informal open-air concerts (these are discussed later).

It would also be mistaken to suppose that all of the bands established in the late nineteenth century were established on the initiative of wealthy manufacturers or philanthropists; there is evidence that many bands were started by working-class people. Rose, in his Talks with Bandsmen, (1895) expected that working men would often take the initiative in forming bands and - perhaps a little condescendingly - provided advice on the procedure to follow. (73) The Wellington Town band came into existence as the result of the secession of several players from the local volunteer band in 1887. (74)

Bands relied upon there being a body of musical knowledge amongst the working classes; although some of this was provided by the state education system, or by music societies of various kinds, a great deal of the musical education which underpinned banding in this period

(75) Andrews 1907, p44.

(76) ERO D/Z 81/24, p[27], minutes of sub-committee, 23 November 1897.

(77) See Andrews, op. cit., p35.



was provided by bandsmen themselves. As before, many bandsmen probably derived inspiration and learnt about how to play band instruments from their relatives. The importance of the family in bandsmen's musical education may explain the tendency for certain families to be very strongly represented in their local bands; for instance, at one stage in the late nineteenth century, Dunstable Borough Brass band included 10 members of the Franklin family and was sometimes known as 'Franklin's Band'. (75) Some bands also had elementary sections attached to them, where beginners could learn the basics of music. The Woodford band had a learners' class of 13 members in 1897. (76) Luton Red Cross band set up a junior band in 1904. (77) The establishment of learners' classes and junior bands seems to have been associated with the late nineteenth century; I have found no evidence of such organisations dating from an earlier period.

It has been mentioned in the previous section of this chapter that open-air band performances were responsible for increasing the accessibility of band music to working people and stimulating popular interest in bands. Some of these - both band concerts and band contests - were organised by bands themselves. Informal concerts were often put on by bands; these usually took place in a field, a park or in the streets. These were also important fund-raising events; donations were often collected from the crowds which gathered. Numerous concerts of this kind



(78) See Parsons 1987.

(79) The Brass Band Annual and Bandsman's Companion,  
1895, p59.

(80) Ibid., 1895, p17.

(81) Ibid., 1897, p63.

(82) Ibid., 1899, p54.

(83) See, for example, Russell 1980, pp185-6.

took place in the town of Wellington (Somerset) in the late nineteenth century. (78)

Towards the end of this period, a few contests were being organised by individual bands in southern England. Often, at least part of these took place outdoors. For instance, a contest promoted by Luton Red Cross band held on 25 August 1894 included a quickstep competition (presumably in a convenient open space). (79) The last decade of the century also witnessed the formation of a number of band associations in southern England. The Southern Counties Brass and Reed Band Association was formed in January 1893 and organised annual band contests thereafter. (80) The Essex and Middlesex Band Association were organising contests by 1896. (81) The London and Home Counties Band Association were running their own contests by 1898. (82)

It is clear that the expansion of banding at this time was underpinned by an intense interest in music - especially band music - amongst the working classes. Much has been made of the large audiences which attended band performances in the north of England at this time. (83) However, it seems that the working classes in the south had an equally insatiable appetite for band music in the late nineteenth century; this could be described as a kind of 'band-mania'. Many southern bands (even those little-known in the contesting world) were capable of

(84) Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, Sunday 9th September 1883  
(1st ed.), p12.

(85) The British Bandsman and Orchestral Times, 15 July  
1888, p193.

(86) Ibid., August 1889, p243.

(87) Andrews 1907, p11. Of course, all of these figures  
were just estimates and in some cases were possibly over-  
estimates; nevertheless, they give the impression that  
bands had considerable drawing power at this time.

attracting huge crowds. A promenade concert in Victoria Park, London, on Hospital Saturday, 1883 featured several volunteer and police bands. Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper reported that 'from 60,000 to 80,000 persons' were present. (84) The Exeter Rifle Volunteer and City band gave a concert on Northernhay, Exeter in 1888 which was enthusiastically applauded by a crowd of 'about 2,000'. (85) In 1889, it was reported that band concerts in Queen's Park, Kilburn, were sometimes attended by 'between 5,000 and 6,000 persons'. (86) Andrews wrote that, whenever the Luton Red Cross band gave an open-air concert, they attracted 'a crowd numbering 3,000 or upwards'. (87) Many more examples could be given of bands playing for large audiences.

Popular musical enthusiasm manifested itself in other ways. When the Blandford band returned home after winning the Crystal Palace contest of 1863, they received a hero's welcome comparable to the reception given to successful northern contesting bands. Here is The Salisbury and Winchester Journal and General Advertiser's account of the occasion:



Considerable excitement was occasioned by the news [of the contest result] when it reached the town, and it was determined that a demonstration should be made to welcome home the successful men. The Rifle Corps accordingly mustered strong in the Market-place, under Sergeant-Major Abbott, and preceded by the drums and fifes, marched to the Railway Station, where numbers of spectators were already gathered. After a few minutes the clanging bell and shrill whistle of the engine announced the arrival of the train, and the order, "Present arms," being given, the band struck up "See the conquering hero comes," and three hearty British cheers welcomed home the winning men... On reaching the town the street windows, balconies, &c., were crowded with spectators, and a most hearty and enthusiastic reception was given by them. Three cheers were first given, then three cheers more, and then the band woke up the echoes again with "See the conquering hero comes," and the bells rang out a merry peal, while the waving of handkerchiefs by the ladies at the windows, and the shouts of the



(88) The Salisbury and Winchester Journal and General Advertiser, Saturday 1 August 1863, p7.

(89) See Best 1971, p111 et seq..

(90) See Hunt 1973.

assemblage were continuous... A second cordial reception awaited Mr. Evers at his hotel, the smoking-room of which was crowded with gentlemen, among whom was Mr. Henry Distin, who loudly cheered the bandmaster. (88)

Changes in the living conditions of working men in the late nineteenth century were vitally important in facilitating the continued expansion of banding in the late nineteenth century. Although there are indications that improvements in the standard of living of some working men began somewhat before, the evidence for improvements in real wages amongst the working class becomes stronger in the late 1860s and early 1870s. Of course, the pace of improvement was not even and the prosperity of working men often suffered in bad years such as 1867 and 1868. Furthermore, some trades fared differently to others. (89) There were also variations in the economic position of working men in different parts of the south. (90) However, after all these qualifications are borne in mind, it is likely that many working men now had more money to spare on music and other amusements.

The campaign for 'short time' had won reductions in the length of the working week of workers in the textile industry in the mid-nineteenth century. A sixty-hour week

654

(91) Best 1971, pp137-8.

was obtained in 1850, followed by a further reduction to 56½ hours in 1874. These concessions were accompanied by the granting of a half-holiday on Saturdays. Reductions in the working week gradually came to affect skilled and factory workers in other trades, many of whom had obtained a Saturday half-holiday and a somewhat shorter working day by the 1870s. In addition, the Bank Holiday Acts of 1871 and 1875 granted holidays for those employed in most industrial and commercial concerns on Boxing Day, Easter Monday, Whit Monday and the first Monday in August. Many working men therefore had more time to spare for leisure pursuits such as music. However, some of these improvements did not affect the lower levels of the working class, such as those in unskilled and casual occupations, who continued to endure long working hours - when work was available. (91) The uneven effect of reductions in the working week may be a further explanation for the association of banding with the more prosperous elements of the lower classes.

Part of the explanation for the working classes' musical enthusiasm may be that various commentators were promoting music as a 'civilizing' or 'respectable' recreation - possibly even more than in the mid-nineteenth century. There is once again evidence that some bandsmen conformed to (and were influenced by) the notions of respectability advocated by opinion-formers. The band

(92) Berkshire Chronicle, Saturday 16 September 1865, p4.

(93) See Wright & Round's Liverpool Brass (& Military)  
Band Journal catalogue, June 1885.

(94) See also Russell 1987, p186.



repertoire of the late nineteenth century still included a great deal of 'art music', as the critics recommended. (See Chapter 4.) As before, arrangements of oratorio music were played. For instance, Reading Saxhorn band were playing the Hallelujah Chorus from Handel's Messiah in a concert in 1865. (92) Wright and Round were publishing band arrangements of pieces from oratorios by composers such as Handel, Haydn and Spohr in the late 1870s and early 1880s. (93) However, contest reports, concert programmes and publishers' catalogues indicate that the use of oratorio music was becoming less frequent. Perhaps this was partly a reflection of the increasing secularisation of British society at this time. (94)

Operatic music was still an important part of the repertoire. Arrangements and selections taken from Italian operatic music remained most important. The music of Donizetti - particularly Lucrezia Borgia and L'elisire d'amore - was especially popular for use in contests in the late nineteenth century; pieces by Bellini, Rossini and Verdi were also to be found in the concert and contest repertoire. Operatic music by Balfe, (his Bohemian Girl remained extremely popular for concerts and contests) Mozart, Meyerbeer, Auber, Herold, Weber and others - which had been played by bands in the mid-nineteenth century - was also used.

(95) See Russell 1987, p187.

(96) It is probable that the Cyfarthfa band from South Wales were among the first to perform the music of Wagner; Trevor Herbert's list of the contents of the manuscript books used by the bandsmen in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century includes a number of pieces attributed to Wagner. See Herbert 1990.

(97) The piece was played by the National Volunteer band at a concert given at Hanover Square Rooms on 19 December 1860. (Volunteer Service Gazette, Saturday 22 December 1860, p134.) It was advertised that the band of the London Rifle Brigade were to play a 'Grand March - "Fest"' by 'Wagner' (probably a misprint) at a horticultural fete at Bristol on 24 May 1860. (The Bristol Gazette, and Public Advertiser, Thursday 10 May 1860, p5.)

(98) The British Bandsman and Orchestral Times, 15 July 1888, p195.

The 'art' music repertoire of bands was broadening in the late nineteenth century. The main addition to the repertoire was the music of Wagner. Russell has stated that northern bands (particularly Edwin Swift's Linthwaite band) were responsible for pioneering the use of Wagner's music in the 1870s and 1880s. (95) While this is no doubt true to some extent, (96) one piece at least had found its way into the repertoire of some southern bands by 1850. The National Volunteer band and (probably) the band of the London Rifle Brigade were playing the Grand March from Tannhäuser by this date. (97) By 1887, this piece was even being played by the Fakenham band from Norfolk in the town square. (98)

Pieces by other operatic composers of the mid- and late nineteenth century were also included in the band repertoire. Among these, music from Wallace's opera Maritana was particularly popular for use in contests. Selections from Gounod's operas Faust and Cinq Mars were sometimes used as contest pieces.

The discipline expected of many late nineteenth-century bands might also suggest that some of the working class were influenced by middle-class notions of respectability. The rules of the Woodford band (drawn up in 1892) indicate that the word 'military' in the band's name referred to the regimentation expected of the band's

(99) ERO D/Z 81/13, p[12].

(100) Ibid., loc. cit..

(101) Ibid., loc. cit..

(102) Ibid., p[13].

(103) Ibid., loc. cit..

(104) Brass Band News, 1 April 1882, p[1].



players as well as to the instruments used. Rules 6 and 8 demanded regular attendances at the band's two rehearsals per week. Fines were to be levied on those who were absent without an adequate excuse. (99) Rule 7 stated that

Strict attention must be paid to the Bandmaster's or Captain's orders, the use of bad language, disorderly conduct, or disregard of orders will not be permitted. The committee impress upon members the necessity of smartness, civility and punctuality. (100)

Three other rules emphasised the importance of discipline. Rule 9 stated that no drinking or smoking was to be allowed while the band was assembled, unless permission had been given. (101) Rule 13 forbade bandsmen leaving the assembled band without the consent of the bandmaster. (102) Rule 14 stated that 'any member misconducting himself in anyway [sic] to bring discredit upon the Band, shall be dealt with as the committee think proper'. (103)

Thrift was also expected from the Woodford bandsmen in order to pay the entrance fee and weekly subscriptions which were mentioned earlier in this section.

The rules of the Woodford band were probably like the rules of many other bands; they were similar to a set of model band rules published in the Brass Band News ten years before. (104)



The 'art' music repertoire, thrift and discipline of bands may be an indication that some bandsmen had accepted middle-class notions of respectability and were attracted to banding because it had respectable associations. However, it should be pointed out once more that some bandsmen may have favoured an 'art' music repertoire and military-style discipline because it was pragmatic to do so; orderly behaviour and 'quality' music were necessary to satisfy the middle-class people who were important in providing engagements and support for bands. Some degree of regulation was also necessary if a band was to run smoothly. The 'respectability' of bandsmen may sometimes have been only apparent; perhaps it was (as it may have been in the mid-nineteenth century) only a role, assumed when it was necessary to do so - a role which only barely masked the persistence of certain aspects of what might be described as a tradition of working-class behaviour, which stretched back into the eighteenth century and beyond.

There is certainly evidence which suggests continuity in working-class behaviour and the limited effect of middle-class notions of respectability. It will be remembered that the unruliness and even violence which characterised some aspects of popular culture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century can be discerned in the behaviour of volunteer bandsmen. It also persisted in the ostensibly respectable world of late Victorian

- (105) Brass Band News, 1 September 1887, p[5].
- (106) The British Musician, August 1896, p183.

civilian banding. For instance, the Brass Band News reported in 1887 that the Wimborne Town band had been broken up at a meeting 'after which, one or two, who felt some little enmity with each other, thought a pugilistic encounter would be an honourable finale'. (105) Contests could be rowdy occasions; at a contest for southern bands held at the Agricultural Hall, Islington, the adjudicators were hooted and their integrity called into question by members of the audience. Partly as the result of this treatment, one of the adjudicators, Carl Kiefert, withdrew from judging band contests. (106) On at least one occasion, a band was at odds with the police. The Mile End Assembly Hall brass band played regularly in Victoria Park on Sundays. On Sunday 8 May 1893, the band was taking up its position as usual when

a L.C.C. inspector, accompanied by a sergeant and about eight park constables, apprised the musicians that they were transgressing the park regulations, and that intimation had been received from the London County Council that proceedings were to be taken against them if they refused to desist. The conductor vehemently protested against such interference and arbitrary action on the part of the council. "Abide with Me" was then played very

(107) The British Musician, June 1893, p165.



impressively, whereupon the police officers demanded the names and addresses of the players - a demand which, at the instigation of the spectators, the players refused to concede. The inspector then said he would have to arrest the whole of them. He, however, refrained from adopting that extreme step on their undertaking to walk down in a body to the police-station, which they did, accompanied by some five or six thousand people, with the police officers at their head. Arrived at the Wick Road station, the instrnmentalists [sic] filed in, and jocularly enquired if tea was ready. Their names and addresses were taken, and they were informed that summonses would be issued against them.

(107)

Furthermore, there were differences between the sort of thrift and self-help expected of bandsmen in paying for their music-making and the individualistic form of self-help associated with the middle-class version of respectability. While the Woodford bandsmen were usually expected to pay their own way and find the money for entrance fees and subscriptions, there were important exceptions to this, which were reminiscent of working-



(108) See ERO D/Z 81/13, p[11].

(109) See ERO D/Z 81/24, p[3] - minutes of sub-committee meeting of 24 January 1396.

(110) ERO D/Z 81/1, p206.

(111) Ibid., p163.

(112) See ibid., p194 and p234.

class traditions of mutuality as embodied in organisations such as friendly societies. In times of personal crisis, bandsmen could expect collective assistance from the rest of the band. The sanctions in the band rules against those failing to pay their dues did not apply to men who were unemployed or ill. (108) Also, the band sometimes remitted part of the debt of individuals in such circumstances. In 1896, a meeting of a management sub-committee of the band remitted 3/- of the 8/- arrears in subscriptions owed by Mr. Collins 'owing to his loss of a child & the fact of his also being out of work'. At the same meeting, it was resolved that 4/9 out of the 9/9 owed by Mr. Jones should be remitted 'in consideration of his being out of work'. (109)

Also, the accounts of the Woodford band show that, far from paying their own way, the Woodford bandsmen were prepared to rely upon a large subsidy from others, even though this was not strictly necessary. Between 1 January and 6 October 1898, £37 was raised from donations from local notables. (110) The bandsmen contributed far less to the finances of their band. In addition to returnable deposits and £11/18/- in weekly subscriptions, (111) only £6/2/8 was paid into band funds from the proceeds of engagements in 1898. (112) Instead of reducing their dependence on others, the Woodford bandsmen divided the remainder of the proceeds of engagements amongst

(113) See ERO D/Z 81/1, p194 and p234.

(114) Berkshire Chronicle, Saturday 16 September 1865,  
p4.

(115) The British Bandsman, 15 December 1887, p63.

themselves. In 1898, the band's account book recorded that £43/1/10 was shared out in this way between the players and the bandmaster. (113) This money could have been diverted into common funds and used to make the band self-supporting.

Although the repertoire included an increasingly eclectic range of 'art' music, it will be remembered that bands in the late nineteenth century (like their predecessors) frustrated the musical establishment by playing a great deal of lighter material. Furthermore, the amount of light music available to bands was increasing and acquiring considerable prominence in the band repertoire.

Arrangements of popular songs remained important in band programmes; Braham's Death of Nelson was being played by the Reading Saxhorn band in 1865. (114) Some popular songs were arranged as instrumental solos - in 1887, the band of D company, 3rd Vol. Battalion the Norfolk Regiment, were playing Sullivan's The Lost Chord, arranged as a trombone solo. (115) Sometimes, popular songs - particularly those songs which could be defined as 'national songs' - were strung together in selections. In January 1885, Wright & Round's Liverpool Brass (& Military) Band Journal published H. Round's fantasia The Pride of Ireland. According to the firm's catalogue, this included:

(116) Catalogue for Wright & Round's Liverpool Brass (& Military) Band Journal, June 1885, p[1].

(117) Ibid.. It will be noticed that dance music by Round features in the sample band programmes given in the appendix. Dance music was sometimes used for contesting purposes; one or two contests specified dance music as a test piece; a few even had waltz competitions, as the handlist in the appendix shows.



"Fill the Bumper Fair" (Cornet Solo), "Believe me if all those endearing young charms" (Euphonium Solo), "Mourn not for Me", "Oft in the Stilly Night", "Dear Harp of Erin" (Horn Solo), "By that Lake" (Cornet Solo), Jig, "Garry Owen", "Long Ago," Bass Solo, &c. (116)

These pieces were also used as contest test pieces, as the handlist of contests in the appendix shows.

Dance music was also extremely important in the late nineteenth-century band repertoire. Some of the variety of dances - quadrilles, galops, schottisches, waltzes, mazurkas, polonaises and polkas - were arrangements of dances by composers from outside the world of British banding, such as D'Albert, Waldteufel, Strauss or Gung'l. However a number of these pieces were specially written for band; in the period after 1875, the most prolific contemporary composer of dance music intended for band was probably Henry Round, of Wright and Round. In the late 1870s and early 1880s, Wright & Round's Liverpool Brass (& Military) Journal included 3 or 4 pieces of this kind by Round each year. (117)

Light operatic overtures and selections were also increasingly popular amongst bands in the late nineteenth century. During this period, the music of Sullivan, Offenbach and Suppe acquired a prominence in the concert

- (118) The Brass Band Annual and Bandsman's Companion, 1897, p62.
- (119) D'Almaine & Co's Brass Band Library, no. 1 - no composer is given for this piece.
- (120) Chappell's Brass Band Journal, no. 54 [n.d., probably late 1860s].
- (121) Catalogue for Wright & Round's Liverpool Brass (& Military) Band Journal, June 1885.
- (122) See, for instance, Parsons 1987, p9, which refers to the Tonedale Harmonic Society band playing two marches by Smith - Summer Twilight and Dainty Darling - in a concert in 1880.
- (123) James Ord Hume (1864-1932), a former cornet player with the band of the Royal Scots Greys, conducted a number of bands in southern England, such as Aldershot Town, Farnham Institute, Lowestoft Town and King's Lynn Police, in addition to his association with bands in the north. Hume began publishing his compositions and arrangements in 1890; his many marches are still played by bands. He was to become a prominent adjudicator at competitions and to have a share in editing the expanded British Bandsman and Contest Field from 1899. (See Hailstone 1987, p23 and The British Musician, March 1893, pp66-7.)

repertoire which has still not been lost altogether. Such music was also sometimes used for contests; for instance, music from Sullivan's The Gondoliers was used for a contest at Stratford in 1896. (118)

There were three different categories of marches played by bands in the late nineteenth century. The first type were based on a well-known tune or tunes; for instance, the first issue of D'Almaine & Co's Brass Band Library [1861] included a quick step based on music from Verdi's Il Trovatore, perhaps by the editor of the series, J.H. Sibold. (119) Another category of march were adaptations of band marches, often by foreign composers; for example, in the late 1860s, Chappell's Brass Band Journal published a 'Set of [4] Prussian Quick Marches'. (120)

The third category were marches composed of original material, written specially for British-style bands. Although marches of this kind had been written before, there was a proliferation of these in the late nineteenth century. Wright & Round's catalogue for 1885 shows that Henry Round had composed large numbers of original band marches by this time. (121) Richard Smith, the northern band trainer who had set up a music publishing business in London, also composed original band marches. (122) In the last years of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, the two most prominent composers of original band marches were James Ord Hume (123) and



(124) William Rimmer (1861-1936), was a cornet soloist and later highly successful band trainer with a number of northern bands. He was music editor for the publishers F. Richardson from 1897-1905 and was later to be music editor for Wright and Round. Rimmer composed and arranged a great deal of band music; however, he is best known for his marches. (Ainscough 1988, pp24-8.)

(125) Several of the contests in the handlist given in the appendix had march competitions associated with them.

(later) William Rimmer. (124) Many of Hume's and Rimmer's marches were 'exhibition marches' or 'contest marches', designed as test pieces for the marching competitions which were often held in conjunction with the main contests. (125) Contest marches were not just designed to provide a rhythmic and tuneful accompaniment to a parade or procession; they were intended to test the technique of the players. Hume's exhibition quick march, The B.B. and C.F. (published in about 1900) is representative of pieces of this kind; the introductory section, with its descending chromatic passages in octaves for full band, would test the ensemble of some of the best bands while on the march. The piece was also designed to examine the dynamic control of competing bands; it included a number of sudden changes in volume. The solo cornet part is given in Example 7.1 below.



(126) Ord Hume [n.d.]. This piece was probably written c.1900; from August 1899, The British Bandsman included a section entitled The Contest Field, edited by Ord Hume (see Hailstone 1987, pp23-4). The B.B. and C.F. march was being played by Black Dyke Mills by June 1901 (see Russell 1937, p190).

Example 7.1: Ord Hume's The B.B. and C.F. [c.1900], solo  
cornet part (126)

CWNBREAN BAND No. 495

SOLO CORNET B $\flat$

EXHIBITION QUICK MARCH. "THE B.B. AND C.F." ORD HUME

Published by R. Smith & Co. Champion Journal 210 Strand, London W.C.

(127) A good example of this kind of piece is John Hartmann's cornet solo, Rule Britannia, which was being played by southern bands by 1887. See The British Bandsman, 15 December 1887, p63, which refers to this solo forming part of a programme for a concert given by the band of D company, 3rd volunteer battalion, the Norfolk regiment.



The late nineteenth century also witnessed the composition of an increasing number of original pieces for soloist (usually cornet or euphonium) and band by band composers such as Harold Round and John Hartmann. These pieces often made extreme demands on the technique of the soloist. Instrumental solos were mainly of two kinds; theme-and-variations (or air varié) solos usually began with an extended introductory section which often included one or more cadenzas for the soloist. This was followed by the theme and a number of variations. The first variation was usually based on a triplet rhythm; the second often tested the flexibility of the player's embouchure with a number of wide intervals, or demanded the execution of rapid scalar passages; the third was usually slower and in a minor key and was followed by a final variation, which was often an exercise in triple tonguing. (127) The other type of virtuoso solo commonly found in band programmes from the mid-nineteenth century onwards was the polka, which often showed off the triple tonguing of the soloist. A good example of this kind of piece is John Hartmann's Arbucklenian-Polka, dedicated to the American cornet soloist, Arbuckle. The cornet solo part for the coda of this is given in Example 7.2 below.

(128) Hartmann [1930s?]. Although I have used a twentieth-century edition of this piece, it was certainly available in a version for cornet and wind band by 1887.



Example 7.2: Coda of cornet solo part of J. Hartmann's  
Arbucklenian-Polka (128)

The musical score is written for a cornet solo and consists of ten staves. The first staff is marked "Coda." and begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The notation includes various musical symbols such as eighth and sixteenth notes, rests, and slurs. The second staff contains a measure with a measure rest of 15 measures, indicated by the number "15". The third staff is marked "Solo." and begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The fourth staff contains a measure with a measure rest of 15 measures, indicated by the number "15". The fifth staff contains a measure with a measure rest of 15 measures, indicated by the number "15". The sixth staff contains a measure with a measure rest of 15 measures, indicated by the number "15". The seventh staff contains a measure with a measure rest of 15 measures, indicated by the number "15". The eighth staff contains a measure with a measure rest of 15 measures, indicated by the number "15". The ninth staff contains a measure with a measure rest of 15 measures, indicated by the number "15". The tenth staff contains a measure with a measure rest of 15 measures, indicated by the number "15". The score concludes with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

(129) Catalogue for Wright & Round's Liverpool Brass (& Military) Band Journal, June 1985, p[4].

The last quarter of the nineteenth century also witnessed the composition of an increasing number of original fantasias and overtures for band. As the handlist of contests in the appendix shows, some of these were used as test pieces for competitions. Usually, these pieces were programmatic in character, often depicting some historic event. By 1885, Wright and Round included several of these in their catalogue, all by Henry Round. Although they were original compositions, they seem to have been similar in some ways to the operatic selections which were so popular amongst bands. Like operatic selections, these pieces were generally made up from a number of short contrasting sections, linked by solo cadenzas. Also, the soloists - especially the cornet and euphonium - were often given melodies which were rather reminiscent of operatic arias, while the other parts were expected to provide fairly easy accompaniments. A good example of this is to be found at the beginning of the second (Larghetto) section of Henry Round's Grand Fantasia, Joan of Arc, published as part of Wright & Round's Liverpool Brass (& Military) Band Journal in 1884 and already advertised in 1885 as 'The most successful Contest Piece ever published'. (129)

(130) Round [1884].



Example 7.3: Beginning of Larghetto from Henry Round's  
Joan of Arc [1884] (130)

*Larghetto (♩ = 52)*

Soprano. [cornet]  
E<sup>b</sup>

Solo Cornet B<sup>b</sup>

1<sup>st</sup> & 2<sup>nd</sup> Cornet  
B<sup>b</sup>

2<sup>nd</sup> [and] 3<sup>rd</sup>  
Cornet. B<sup>b</sup>

Solo Tenor E<sup>b</sup> [and]  
1<sup>st</sup> [and] 2<sup>nd</sup>  
Tenor Horn E<sup>b</sup>

1<sup>st</sup> [and] 2<sup>nd</sup>  
Baritone B<sup>b</sup>

1<sup>st</sup> [and] 2<sup>nd</sup>  
Trombone  
(tenor.)

Trombone  
(bass.)

Solo  
Euphonium B<sup>b</sup>

E<sup>b</sup> Bass

B<sup>b</sup> Bass

Side Drum  
& Triangel (c.)



This page of musical notation, numbered 667, contains multiple staves. The notation is dense and includes many blacked-out or heavily obscured sections. The visible notation includes musical notes, rests, and various symbols, including a large 'X' or 'Z' symbol. The notation is arranged in a grid-like fashion, with staves grouped together. The overall appearance is that of a heavily redacted or obscured musical score.



A handwritten musical score on 15 staves, organized into two systems of seven staves each. The notation is in treble and bass clefs, with various musical symbols including notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The score is heavily obscured by dark, grainy noise, particularly on the left side and in the lower half. Key visible elements include:

- Staff 1 (Treble):** Contains a series of notes and rests, with a dynamic marking *f* (forte) visible.
- Staff 2 (Treble):** Similar to Staff 1, with a dynamic marking *f*.
- Staff 3 (Treble):** Features a series of notes and rests, with a dynamic marking *f*.
- Staff 4 (Treble):** Contains a series of notes and rests, with a dynamic marking *f*.
- Staff 5 (Treble):** Includes a series of notes and rests, with a dynamic marking *f*.
- Staff 6 (Treble):** Contains a series of notes and rests, with a dynamic marking *f*.
- Staff 7 (Treble):** Includes a series of notes and rests, with a dynamic marking *f*.
- Staff 8 (Bass):** Contains a series of notes and rests, with a dynamic marking *f*.
- Staff 9 (Bass):** Includes a series of notes and rests, with a dynamic marking *f*.
- Staff 10 (Bass):** Contains a series of notes and rests, with a dynamic marking *f*.
- Staff 11 (Bass):** Includes a series of notes and rests, with a dynamic marking *f*.
- Staff 12 (Bass):** Contains a series of notes and rests, with a dynamic marking *f*.
- Staff 13 (Bass):** Includes a series of notes and rests, with a dynamic marking *f*.
- Staff 14 (Bass):** Contains a series of notes and rests, with a dynamic marking *f*.
- Staff 15 (Bass):** Includes a series of notes and rests, with a dynamic marking *f*.

Dynamic markings *f* (forte) are visible on several staves, indicating a loud volume. The notation is dense and appears to be a complex piece of music, possibly a symphony or a large-scale instrumental work.



Although bands were playing a wider variety of 'art' music than ever before, it would appear that light music was taking up an increasing proportion of the contesting and concert repertoire. This impression is borne out by the contest handlist given in the appendix. The increasing prominence of 'light' music ran counter to the prescriptions of middle-class critics discussed in Chapter 4. This would suggest that the association of 'art' music with respectability and moral improvement was not sufficient to change the band repertoire and that respectability had only a limited effect in determining the music played by bands.

For some working men, self-discipline in the bandroom was neither a role nor the result of the acceptance of middle-class ideology; it has been shown in earlier chapters that disciplined, organised bands (and other leisure institutions) had been part of working-class leisure activity for some time before.

If the 'downward flow' of respectability is not the key to the expansion of banding, there are nevertheless alternative explanations. A tradition of banding was already well-established among the working class by the late nineteenth century; this tradition became stronger with the passage of time: increasingly, it became one of a number of recreations identified with artisan life.

Also, bands of the later nineteenth century had a number of other attractions for working-class men which

(131) For example, in 1892, C. Wickham agreed to conduct the Woodford band for 10/- per week for two two-hour rehearsals. In addition, Wickham was to be paid 5/- for each evening concert and 7/6 for each afternoon performance. (ERO D/Z 81/13, p[19], minutes of committee meeting of 21 March 1892.) Wickham was an ex-military bandsman and might therefore have been a little better paid than those without military experience. However, these terms were certainly quite generous. See section vi for an account of the activities of some of the members of Luton Red Cross band as band trainers.

they shared with their predecessors. It has been mentioned that the Woodford bandsmen could make a little money by sharing out the proceeds of engagements. An involvement in music-making allowed other opportunities for a working man to supplement his income. Although I have found no evidence of this, it is probable that one or two of the best southern players received small payments or 'retainers', in order to guarantee their loyalty to their band; this was certainly the practice in the north of England. Some bandsmen became bandmasters and semi-professional band trainers; these were sometimes paid quite well. (131) As southern banding expanded and contesting began to become more important, the opportunities for bandsmen to make money in this way probably increased. Also, one or two bandsmen may have been paid for playing for local orchestras or operatic societies, as was the case elsewhere.

Bands also offered working men the opportunity to travel; this was particularly true of the contesting bands which began to appear in the south in the last decade or so of the century. For instance, in the 1890s, the members of Luton Red Cross band played at a number of venues which were some distance from Luton, including London, Manchester, Rothwell, Eastbourne and Gravesend.

Like the Conservative party, trade unionists supported bands in order to assist them at a time of increasing union militancy in the late nineteenth century.



- (132) Brass Band News, 1 May 1882, p[5].
- (133) The British Bandsman and Orchestral Times, October 1890, p290.
- (134) ERO D/Z 81/24, pp[2-3] - minutes of sub-committee held 24 January 1896.
- (135) Brass Band News, 1 January 1888, p[6]. Letter to editor from C. Thornton.

Bands were often employed to play for union parades and demonstrations. For instance, in 1882, Wimborne Town band was engaged to play for a meeting of the Agricultural Labourers' Union in Blandford. Beforehand, the band marched through the streets, presumably in order to attract a crowd. (132) Certain unions also appear to have supported bands in some way or other. By 1890, the following bands were in existence in London: the Coal Porters' Union band, the Sailors' and Firemen's Poplar band and the Dock Labourers' Union band. (133)

As before, banding was seen by working men as a highly sociable recreation; in 1896, Woodford band and Loughton Excelsior band invited each other to social evenings. (134) Sometimes, the sociability of bandsmen got out of hand; one correspondent in the Brass Band News complained (probably with some exaggeration) in 1888 that it was not uncommon for a band in southern England to 'have half of its members pot-house hunting, and otherwise shirking their duties, when they ought to be at their post'! (135)

Like their predecessors, bands in this period also offered the chance for working men to achieve a degree of status; such standing (and the self-respect it brought) was sometimes lacking in their day-to-day occupations. This issue is considered further in the final section of this chapter.

(136) Russell 1980, pp139-140.

(137) Ibid., p140.

#### iv) Commercialisation

Another reason for the expansion of banding in the late nineteenth century was that band instruments, music and other accessories were becoming more easily available from, and were promoted by, an increasingly commercialised music industry.

Although a kind of infrastructure of firms providing music, instruments and other items for bands was already in existence by the mid-nineteenth century, this was to expand during the late Victorian period, its growth influenced by, and influencing, the expansion of banding amongst the working class. Most of the concerns manufacturing band instruments were established by about 1860; however, one or two new firms came into existence after this date (these are mentioned in Chapter 6). Russell explains 'London's somewhat paradoxical primacy in the production of instruments for a tradition that had its strength in the northern counties' (136) by stating that London was a traditional centre of instrument-making and that the necessary skills were available. He also points out that much imported brass was brought through the port of London. (137) No doubt, London's primacy as an instrument-making centre was at least partly related to the availability of skilled labour and raw materials. However, it will be clear by now that the concentration

(138) Russell 1937, p137.

(139) See *ibid.*, p141.



of band instrument-making in the metropolis was not even apparently paradoxical; there were a great number of bands in southern England and it would be wrong to see banding as a phenomenon largely rooted in the north.

It will be remembered that music publishing for band was going on in a fairly small way in the mid-nineteenth century. However, the period covered by this chapter witnessed a great expansion in the number of firms publishing band music. By the late 1890s, 14 companies were involved in publishing music for band. (138) Some of these were to become particularly important - notably Wright and Round (founded 1875) and F. Richardson (founded 1894). A number of concerns providing uniforms and other accessories for bandsmen also appeared during this period. (139)

Various other commercial activities connected with banding sprang up in the late nineteenth century. Some contests were organised on a commercial basis by various organisations or by entrepreneurs, particularly Enderby Jackson and (later) John Henry Iles. Jackson's contests at the Crystal Palace (1850-3) and elsewhere were impressive events, attracting large audiences. However, they did not become established features of the banding world. In 1900, Iles succeeded in setting up a contest which came to be the main event in the banding calendar, the annual Crystal Palace competition, later to be known to bandsmen as the

(140) See Russell 1980, p136.

(141) See The Times, Wednesday 11 July 1860, p9 and Brass Band News, 1 April 1894 [supplement, p1] - letter to editor from Frank Gray. Gray was present at the 1860 competition.

(142) For instance, Williams adjudicated at contests at Bedford, Stratford and Eastbourne in 1893-5. See The Brass Band Annual, 1894, p50; *ibid.*, 1895, p57 and *ibid.*, 1896, p53 respectively.

'National'. At least in its early days, this contest was hugely successful, attracting large numbers of competitors and massive audiences.

Several individuals made money by arranging or composing band music. Many of these men were former or even serving military bandsmen; some of them (such as Sibold or Hartmann) have been mentioned earlier. A few, such as Henry Round and Richard Smith, were formerly professional civilian musicians from outside the world of amateur bands. (140) Towards the end of the century, some of the arrangers and composers for band - such as William Rimmer - had gained much of their musical experience within the world of banding itself.

In the early days of contesting, former or serving military bandsmen and other professional musicians also made up a majority of the adjudicators employed to judge band contests. The list of the adjudicators for the Crystal Palace contest of 1860 shows this clearly. (141) Many of the adjudicators engaged for band contests in the later nineteenth century had a similar background; for instance, Warwick Williams, a well-known theatre musician, adjudicated at several band contests in the 1890s. (142) However, an increasing number of contest adjudicators were drawn from within the world of banding; one of the most prominent adjudicators of the late nineteenth century was Samuel Cope (1856-1947), son of a bandmaster in the



(143) For example, in 1888, the Feltham band was conducted by L. Trimby, formerly of the 103rd Dublin Fusiliers. (The British Bandsman, 15 May 1888, p153.)

(144) In 1889, F.J. Crowest wrote an article on the music of the army. He stated that a bandsman's basic pay was (after deductions) no more than about 3d a day - the same as a private. Even with the addition of money from engagements, bandsmen's income was 'small and insufficient to induce the men to remain with their regiments'. (Crowest 1889, p331.) Bandmasters, according to the army regulations of the time, were to be paid a basic salary of £70 per annum, although some of the leading regiments paid more. For a bandmaster in a line regiment, the salary was, Crowest claimed, 'insufficient to make the appointment a desirable one'. (Ibid., p330.) Discharged bandsmen received the same pension as privates until 1881, in which year bandsmen's pensions were raised to the same level as those of corporals - up to 1/8 per day. (Ibid., pp334-5.)

(145) Bacon 1901 gives a description of the process of mass-producing band instruments and includes photographs of the interior of Boosey and Co.'s factory.

(146) See Russell 1987, p139.

west country, editor of The British Bandsman and conductor of a number of bands in the London area.

Former military bandsmen were also prominent amongst the numerous professional and semi-professional bandmasters and band trainers. This was particularly the case in southern England. The British Bandsman and other periodicals contain numerous references to former military bandsmen conducting southern bands. (143) The involvement of military bandsmen in the 'service industry' relating to amateur bands may have been one way of improving upon the low pay and poor pension which Regular Army bandsmen and bandmasters often received at this time. (144)

Band instruments and music were more easily affordable by working men in the late nineteenth century. Cheap band instruments were being mass-produced. (145) The second-hand trade in instruments was also beginning to expand. Furthermore, this period witnessed the development of hire purchase schemes which made it possible to buy instruments by easy instalments. (146)

Published music was also becoming available more cheaply after the abolition of the paper duty in 1861. By the last quarter of the century, Wright and Round and others were producing a great deal of band music, often in serial form, at very low prices. In 1885, the annual charges for British subscribers to Wright & Round's



(147) Wright & Round's Liverpool Brass (& Military) Band Journal, catalogue for June 1885, p[1].

(148) Ibid., p[4].

(149) The cash account of the band (ERO D/Z 81/1) refers to the purchase of numerous pieces of printed music, such as 'Wright + Round of Liverpool for Bd Primer' (30 April 1892) (p2); or 'A Haigh of Albany Rd. Hull 1 yrs Subscp<sup>tn</sup> for Band Journal' (29 July 1892) (p4). There are a few references to music being provided by the bandmaster and others; for instance, a payment of 5/3 was made on 4 April 1893 to 'Bandmaster - New Music' (p20). However, this may refer to the bandmaster being reimbursed for buying printed music for the band.

Liverpool Brass (& Military) Band Journal were as follows:

Full brass band (20 parts)	-	23/-
Small brass band (14 parts)	-	19/-
Military band (25 parts)	-	29/6 (147)

For this, subscribers received a very large amount of music; in the previous year, 1884, subscribers to the journal had been sent 16 quick marches, 11 pieces of dance music of various kinds, a euphonium solo, a grand fantasia (Joan of Arc), 2 selections and 4 arrangements of sacred pieces. (148) It will be noticed that Wright and Round's prices were far lower than the prices for band music which prevailed earlier in the century.

The cheapness of printed music led to the gradual reduction in bands' use of manuscript music, which was laborious to produce and expensive to obtain. Most of the Woodford band's expenditure in building up its music library in the early 1890s was devoted to the purchase of printed music. (149)

While the low prices of band music and instruments were undoubtedly influential in the growth of banding in the late nineteenth century, the music industry was responsible for promoting banding in two other ways. Firstly, some firms produced guidance for those considering forming bands. For example, in 1870, [H.]

(150) Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, Sunday 4 September 1870

(1st ed.), p9. H. Distin and Co. were purchased by Boosey and Co. in 1868, but the firm continued to trade under the name of Distin until 1874.

(151) Wright & Round's Liverpool Brass (& Military) Band Journal, catalogue for June 1885, p[8].

(152) The Times, Thursday 1 September 1864, p1.

Distin and Co. were advertising Kappey's Brass Band Tutor, which, it was claimed, was 'A complete guide to the formation, training; [sic] and instruction of a brass band'. (150) In 1885, Wright and Round were advertising Wright & Round's Brass Band Primer by H. Round, which included 'Practical Hints on the Formation and Teaching of Brass Bands'. (151)

Secondly, the industry was responsible for producing a large volume of advertising for band music, instruments and accessories. Some instrument makers advertised their goods by arranging for professional players to give performances on instruments produced by the company concerned. The Courtois Brass Band Union and Distin's Ventil Horn Union have been mentioned earlier. Advertising was also placed in the expanding local and national press and also in the specialist musical press. Often, these advertisements included the endorsement of a well-known professional soloist. For instance, The Times carried the following advertisement in 1864:

Mellon's Concerts - Mr. Levy will appear every evening and perform one of his favourite solos on a new cornet-a-pistons, manufactured expressly for him by Antoine Courtois. Sole agent, Arthur Chappell, 214, Regent-street.  
(152)



(153) Andrews 1907, p46.

(154) The British Bandsman and Orchestral Times, January 1889.

Later, advertisements were to make use of endorsements by leading bands and bandsmen. For example, an advertisement for Besson Prototype band instruments in Andrews's history of bands in Luton stated that these were used by Luton Red Cross band, which had won numerous prizes with them. (153)

Music publishers also established a number of periodical publications catering for bandsmen - what might be termed a 'band press'. The earliest of these was Wright and Round's Brass Band News, which commenced publication in 1881. R. Smith and Co. began to publish The British Bandsman in 1887. These two periodicals were followed by The Cornet (which was first published in 1893) and its sister publication, The Brass Band Annual (first published 1894), both of which were produced by F. Richardson. Although the 'band press' published a large number of reports of concerts and contests or articles on matters as diverse as overblowing or Sunday band performances, it was also a medium for advertising. All of these publications included numerous advertisements; in January 1889, The British Bandsman carried advertisements placed by no less than 19 firms, including instrument makers, music publishers, outfitters, repairers and printers. (154) These periodicals were also active in promoting the interests of their parent companies; for instance, the Brass Band News for 1 May 1882 included a very favourable review of a contest selection from Wagner's Rienzi,

(155) Brass Band News, 1 May 1882.

(156) Ibid., 1 December 1884, p[4].

(157) The Orchestral Times and Bandsman, January 1891, p6. See also The British Bandsman and Orchestral Times, October 1889, pp10-11 and *ibid.*, December 1889, pp49-50.

(158) See, for example, Russell 1987, p175 et seq..

arranged by Round and published by Wright and Round. The same issue also reproduced the solo cornet parts for a number of other pieces from the Wright and Round list. (155) Two years later, the Brass Band News published a list of the main contests which had used test pieces from Wright & Round's Liverpool Brass (& Military) Band Journal since it first appeared in 1875. (156)

Commercial forces did not just help the expansion of banding; by promoting lighter types of band music, music publishers were, in effect, working against the drive by music critics for the 'improvement' of the band repertoire by the use of a greater amount of 'art' music. This was noticed by a number of contemporaries. For instance, in 1891, Samuel Cope depicted the music publishers as impeding musical progress by allowing band journals to consist mainly of lighter music. (157)

Commercial influences also influenced the changing instrumentation of bands, which is described in the next few pages.

It will be remembered that bands in the mid-nineteenth century were making use of a variety of instrumental combinations and were not standardised. If some secondary sources are to be believed, the process of standardisation was well under way by the beginning of the period covered by this chapter - at least with regard to contesting bands. (158) The following table and its



(159) The source for this is a report of the contest, given in The Western Times, Saturday 10 August 1861, p3. Unusually, this lists the players (and their instruments) of the Devon bands taking part.

accompanying notes give the instrumentation of 4 amateur bands from Devon taking part in a contest at Exeter in 1861, showing that standardisation had not gone far - even amongst contesting bands - in south-west England.

Table 7.1: Instrumental combinations used by Devon bands competing in contest at Exeter, 1861 (159)

	Bands (see notes below)			
	A	B	C	D
Cornet	4	4	3	4
Alto tuba	-	1	-	-
Tenor	2	1	2	2
Baritone	-	1	1	1
Trombone	-	-	-	1
Euphonium	1	1	1	1
Ophicleide	1	-	2	-
Bombardon	-	1	1	-
Contra bass	1	-	-	1
Drum	1	-	2	-
Unidentified	-	-	-	1
	—	—	—	—
Total players	10	9	12	11

(160) See Baines 1980, p257.

(161) See *ibid.*, p256 which mentions an 'Alto Tuba, in B flat'. The alto tuba in this case could also have been a saxhorn in a lower pitch - perhaps Eb.

(162) See *ibid.*, pp256-7, which refers to a variety of sax baritones in Bb.

#### A) Kingsbridge band

The cornets were divided into three parts - two firsts, a second and a third. The band included a 'contra bass'; this could have been the bass tuba in B $\flat$ . However, it is more likely that both the 'contra basses' in the table were the smaller, less expensive and commoner Eb basses; in about 1849, an Eb bass was described in the catalogue of H. Distin & Co. as a 'Contra Bass Tuba'. (160) The 'tenors' used by this band and the others in the table were probably tenor saxhorns in Eb. The type of drum is not specified. It is interesting that this band is one of two in the table which included drums; at this stage, percussion was apparently permitted in contests.

#### B) Dawlish Rifle Corps band

This band and band C) included a 'bombardine'; this must be a mis-spelling of 'bombardon' and is likely to refer to a tuba, possibly in Eb. The 'alto tuba' used in this band may have been a small contralto saxhorn in high B $\flat$ ; alternatively, it could have been an instrument of lower pitch. (161) The 'baritone' used by this band and the others in the table was probably the baritone saxhorn in B $\flat$ . (162)



C) Teignmouth Artillery band

The source states that two of the cornets were in Ab; one of these was a soprano. The ophicleides were given as 'solo ophecleide' [sic] and 'bass ophecleide [sic] C'. The euphonium was in Ab. The band was using two drummers; both are given as playing the bass drum.

D) Torquay Rifles band

No instrument is given for the leader of this band. It is probable that, like the leaders of the other bands at this contest, he played the cornet. This is also likely because the 4 cornet players mentioned are divided unequally into one first and three seconds. This is the only band which included a [bass] trombone.

It will be clear that the bands were unstandardised; they varied between 9 and 12 performers. There are differences between the bands in the table with respect to the use of the contralto saxhorn, the trombone, the ophicleide and percussion. It is probable that many bands elsewhere (particularly the more conservative ones) differed widely from the bands in the table, some of them having a closer resemblance to the sort of combinations

(163) DCM Box 1/4 [inside back cover]. This is taken from a very faded list of players (dated 1856) in the back of a manuscript book. The band consisted of ten musicians; however, it is only possible to make out (with some difficulty - I have indicated doubt by the use of question marks) the instruments of seven of these.

(164) See Chapter 6 for a reference to the use of a clarinet in the 5th Oxfordshire R.V.C. band, which was one of the better bands in the south at this time.

employed by wind bands in the late 1830s. For instance, in 1866, a band in Cranborne, Dorset included 2 keyed bugles [?], a trombone [?], a serpent, a bassoon, a horn and a drum. (163)

The details of the bands in Table 7.1 give a glimpse of how the instrumentation of the more progressive bands had developed by the early 1860s. These bands were no longer making use of 'natural' brass instruments or keyed bugles. Also, woodwind instruments were not employed by any of the bands in the table, although there are occasional references to their use by contesting bands elsewhere. (164) By now, the valved brass formed the mainstay of the more progressive southern bands. The cornet was virtually the only treble instrument in bands. The various saxhorns had been adopted to some extent by all the bands in Table 7.1; three were using baritones and all four included tenors. Although ophicleides were still found in two of the bands, all were now employing the euphonium (a wide-bored saxhorn - pitched usually in Ab or Bb - which was very versatile, being able to serve either as a bass or solo tenor instrument) and a bass tuba of some sort.

I have used various types of evidence to compile Table 7.2 and its accompanying notes, showing the instrumental combinations employed by some southern bands in the later nineteenth century and in the Edwardian period.

Table 7.2: Instrumental combinations used by southern bands, c.1875-c.1907

	Bands (see notes below)			
	A	B	C	D
Piccolo	-	1	-	-
Clarinet	-	3	3	-
Cornet	5	7	2	10
Flugel horn	1	-	1	2
Tenor saxhorn	1	2	1	3
Baritone	1	1	2	2
Trombone	1	1	1	4
Euphonium	2	1	1	1
Eb bass	2	1	2	2
BBb bass	-	-	-	2
Percussion	2	3	1	-
Unidentified	2	-	3	1
	—	—	—	—
Total players	17	20	17	27



(165) WSRO RSR PH 5/11 [b]. (Photograph.)

(166) See list in D/Z 81/14, pp[2]-[3]. See also D/Z 81/1, p79, which gives details about the instruments purchased in 1892.

(167) Smith/[ph.] This photograph is undated, but was probably taken in the last decade or so of the nineteenth century, when a revived Witney Temperance band was active.

A) 1st Ad. Bn., Cinque Ports volunteers band, c. 1875  
(165)

It is difficult to make out the instruments of two of the players on this photograph, who are each holding either a baritone or a tenor saxhorn. One of the basses is a circular bass, probably in Eb. The percussion consists of a bass drum and a side drum.

B) Woodford Military band, c. 1892 (166)

The cornets were divided into two firsts, three repianos and two seconds. The horns were divided into first and second, both playing tenor horns in Eb. The bass was an Eb bombardon. The trombone was a valved tenor trombone. The three percussionists were: a cymbals player, a side drummer and a bass drummer. The players given in the table include the bandmaster, who was listed as a clarinetist.

C) Witney Temperance band, late nineteenth century (167)

Out of the three unidentified players on this undated photograph, one is holding a baritone or tenor saxhorn and another may be holding a flute or piccolo. The third may be a percussionist. The trombone is a tenor. Two percussion instruments can be seen; a side drum and a bass drum.

(168) See photograph in Andrews 1907, p5. .

(169) Scott's assertion that bands were more or less standardised by the last quarter of the century therefore does not apply to southern bands. (See Scott 1970, p166.)

D) Luton Red Cross band, c.1907 (168)

The trombones comprise three tenors and a bass.. The unidentified player may be a percussionist. One of the cornets was probably a soprano in Eb.

It will be noticed that there are still variations in the combinations used by the bands in Table 7.2. The bands vary in size. Two of the bands included a few woodwind instruments; some did not include flugel horns or BBb basses. (169) The differing composition of southern bands can be explained in a number of ways. The differences in the size and shape of bands may have reflected local variations in the number of instrumentalists and the amount of finance available to bands. Contesting was to have a standardising influence upon bands (see section v)); however, this was unusual in the south for much of the nineteenth century. Published music often allowed the use of all kinds of combinations. (Manuscript music, which was still important for some bands for much of this period, could, of course, also be tailored to the individual requirements of the band concerned.) Published band music in the late nineteenth century did not always demand a standard instrumentation; indeed, it would have been commercially unwise to do so. Publishers of band music still allowed scope for bands of different shapes



(170) D'Almaine & Co.'s Brass Band Library, no. 1, title page.

(171) Ibid., loc. cit..

and sizes. For instance, the title page of the first issue of D'Almaine & Co.'s Brass Band Library [1861] stated that the music in this series could be played by a small band of nine instrumentalists, consisting of the following:

First, Second, and Third Cornets, B Flat

First and Second Tenor Tubas, E Flat

Baritone, B Flat

Solo Euphonium, B Flat

Bass Euphonium, B Flat

Contra Bass, E Flat (170)

The music was also suitable for a much larger band:

Soprano Cornet, E flat

First, Second, and Third Cornets, B flat

First and Second Tenor Tubas, E flat

Tenor Euphonium, E flat

Baritone, B flat

First and Second Tenor Trombones

Bass Trombone

Solo Euphonium, B flat

Bass Euphonium, B flat

Contre Bass, E flat

First and Second Trumpets, E flat

Side Drum and Bass Drum (171)

(172) See Wright & Round's Liverpool Brass (& Military)  
Band Journal, catalogue for June 1885, p[8].

Band music published later in the century also accommodated a variety of different combinations. It will be remembered that Wright & Round's Liverpool Brass (& Military) Band Journal was available for large brass band, small brass band and military band in 1885. (172)

It will be noticed from Table 7.2 that the large BBb bass and the flugel horn had become part of some southern bands. It will also be seen that a degree of standardisation had taken place. The keyed brass had finally disappeared even from the minor southern bands by about the last quarter of the nineteenth century; the ophicleide had now been replaced by the euphonium. The brass instrumentalists of amateur bands were now playing only the valved brass or trombones. Some reasons for the adoption of valved instead of keyed brass instruments were mentioned in Chapter 5; valved instruments were more durable and easier to maintain. Also, because valved instruments used the same fingering system, it was quite straightforward for a player to transfer from one instrument to another.

It became still easier for a bandsman to switch from one valved instrument to another in the late nineteenth century because of changes in the clefs used in published band music. In the early 1860s, parts for the lower valved brass in printed music were usually given in the bass clef, while the parts for the higher valved instruments



(173) Chappell's Brass Band Journal no. 2 [1860]. Names of instruments from parts.

(174) See Wright & Round's Liverpool Brass (& Military) Band Journal, catalogue for June 1885, p[8].

were given in the treble clef. The clefs used in the second issue of Chappell's Brass Band Journal [1860] were as follows:

Piston 1<sup>mo</sup> Solo [treble clef]  
 Piston 1<sup>mo</sup> Bb or Flugelhorn in Bb [treble clef]  
 Piston 2<sup>do</sup> Bb Solo [treble clef]  
 Piston 2<sup>do</sup> Bb or Flugelhorn in Bb [treble clef]  
 Piston in Eb or Clar<sup>tto</sup> ad lib [treble clef]  
 Sax 1<sup>mo</sup> Eb or Koenighorn in Eb [treble clef]  
 Sax 2<sup>o</sup> Eb or Koenighorn Eb [treble clef]  
 Alt Horn [treble clef]  
 Euphonium [bass clef]  
 Basses [bass clef]  
 1st & 2nd Trombones ad lib [bass clef]  
 3rd Trombone ad lib [bass clef]  
 Drums [bass clef] (173)

By the last quarter of the century, Wright and Round were publishing band music which included parts in the treble clef for all the valved brass from treble through to bass. The tenor trombone parts were in the tenor clef, while the part for bass trombone was published in the bass clef. (174)

In this way, commercial influences were making valved brass instruments more attractive for bandsmen and perhaps assisting the spread of all-brass combinations.

(175) Given in Scott 1970, p160.

Commercial interests also affected the spread of all-brass bands in a number of other ways. The promotion of brass instruments has been mentioned earlier. Music firms also helped to spread a conception of the brass band which, unlike the brass bands advocated by Rose and others, included no saxophones, or other reed instruments. In 1839, Wright and Round were advising that a full band should consist of the following instruments:

1 soprano cornet

3 solo cornets

1 repiano cornet and 1 flugel horn (on same part)

1 second cornet and 1 flugel horn (on same part)

1 third cornet and 1 flugel horn (on same part)

1 1st tenor horn

1 2nd tenor horn

1 3rd tenor horn

1 1st baritone

1 2nd baritone

1 1st tenor trombone

1 2nd tenor trombone

1 bass trombone

2 euphoniums

2 Eb bombardons

1 Bb bass

1 BBb bass

Drums (175)



(176) See Wright & Round's Liverpool Brass (& Military)  
Band Journal, catalogue for June 1885, p[8].

This notion of a brass band was reinforced by the publication of music for what was termed a 'Full Brass Band', which demanded approximately similar instruments. For Wright and Round in 1885, parts for this consisted of the following:

Solo Cornet (Conductor) Bb

Solo Cornet Bb

Soprano Cornet Eb

Repiano Cornet Bb

2nd & 3rd Cornets Bb

Solo Tenor Eb

1st & 2nd Horns Eb

1st & 2nd Baritones Bb

Solo Euphonium Bb

1st & 2nd Trombones Bb

Bass Trombone

Eb Bombardon

Eb Bombardon

Bb Bass

Side & Bass Drums (176)

Music firms were helping to promote a form of all-brass band which was to become standard and which was, in most respects, similar to the combination used by bands today.

It was mentioned earlier in this section that the music industry was promoting a large number of lighter pieces amongst bands, thereby influencing bandsmen to make use of a different kind of repertoire to that demanded by the music critics. With respect to band instrumentation, music firms were also cutting against the grain of 'respectable' opinion: by making all-brass bands more attractive to bandsmen and by disseminating an idea of a brass band which did not use reed instruments, music firms were exercising another influence which was moving banding in an opposite direction to that desired by many critics, who were (as Chapter 4 showed) arguing that brass bands should include instruments such as the saxophone.

As the importance of commercialisation increased in the later years of the century, so its power as a force acting against 'respectable' opinion became more significant. The failure of bandsmen to conform to the prescriptions of their middle-class critics may be attributed not only to the resistance of working-class men to middle-class ideology; it may also have been partly the result of the development of a branch of the music industry serving bands.

(177) See Russell 1987, p163.



v) '"Nationalising" the movement': band contesting in southern England

Band contesting in Britain began in the first half of the nineteenth century, perhaps influenced by other forms of musical competition, such as contests for teams of handbell ringers or choirs. Band contests may also have been based on foreign models. A band contest, organised by Sir Clifford Constable as part of a fete held at Burton Constable near Hull in 1845, is the first competition about which much is known; Constable's contest was apparently inspired by the example of French band competitions. (177) Like the Burton Constable contest, other early band competitions took place as part of larger events, such as flower shows or national festivities, although they were sometimes less organised and on a smaller scale. In 1853, the great annual band contests at Belle Vue, Manchester, began. In the 1850s and 1860s, a number of other major competitions were promoted in various parts of the country by the impresario Enderby Jackson. These and the Belle Vue events succeeded in popularising the idea of band contesting; numerous other band competitions sprang up in the second half of the nineteenth century. Some of these were held in the midlands, Scotland or Wales. However, by far the most important region for band contesting in this period

(178) See The Brass Band Annual, 1894, p63.

(179) See the reference to the contest held between the Witney and Royal Thame bands in the handlist of contests in appendix.

(180) The Times, Thursday 12 July 1860, p9.

(181) For instance, Smith stated that Witney band attended a contest organised by Jackson at Bristol [in September 1859]. At this contest, they were invited to the Crystal Palace contest to be held in July 1860.

(Smith/[1], p19.) See also Taylor 1979, p52.

(and indeed for much of the twentieth century) was the north of England, particularly Lancashire and Yorkshire. Some of the leading (or 'crack') bands in this area devoted much of their time to contesting; for instance, Besses o' th' Barn band won prizes in no less than 14 contests in 1893 alone. (178)

It is clear that contesting did not become as popular in southern England as it was elsewhere. There is a little evidence of some informal competitions taking place between southern bands around 1850. (179) In the late 1850s and early 1860s, several contests were organised in the south. Probably the most important of these were run by Enderby Jackson. Jackson promoted single competitions at Bristol, Norwich and Exeter as well as a major series of annual contests at the Crystal Palace between 1860 and 1863 inclusive. At first, Jackson's contests were quite successful; for instance, The Times reported that the audience for the second day of the Crystal Palace contest of 1860 was 'considerably over 22,000'. (180) However, the initial success of Jackson's competitions may be attributed to the novelty of contesting. It may also have been the result of Jackson's promotional skills; his earlier events were widely publicised - to bands and spectators - well in advance. (181) Arrangements were made with the railway companies, so that bandsmen and their followers could be brought to the competitions at

- (182) Taylor 1979, pp51-2.
- (183) The Bristol Gazette, and Public Advertiser, Thursday 8 September 1859, p5.
- (184) The Western Times, Saturday 10 August 1861, p3.
- (185) See The Times, Wednesday 24 July 1861, p11 and *ibid.*, Friday 26 July 1861, p10.
- (186) The Daily News, Wednesday 10 September 1862, p3.
- (187) Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, Sunday 2 August 1863 (1st ed.), p8.
- (188) The Daily News, Wednesday 11 July 1860, p3.
- (189) Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, Sunday 2 August 1863 (1st ed.), p8.



reduced fares. (182) Furthermore, Jackson's contests had the attraction that they were more than just band competitions; each included a massed performance by all the competing bands, which was an unforgettable experience for all concerned! The Bristol contest of 1859 was followed 'by dancing and other entertainments on the green, and the amusements were brought to a conclusion by a really excellent display of fireworks'. (183) The Exeter contest of 1861 was followed by a performance by Distin's Ventil Horn band. (184) The venues chosen - such as Clifton Zoological Gardens or the Crystal Palace - were also attractive to visitors in their own right.

Despite his undoubted ability as a contest promoter, Jackson failed to establish band contesting in the south; his contests were soon discontinued, probably as the result of declining support. Only an aggregate of 21,331 people attended the two days of the 1861 Crystal Palace contest. (185) In 1862, it was reported that about 14,000 people had arrived at the Crystal Palace by 2 p.m. for the single day of the contest, although more arrived later. (186) The total admissions for the single day of the 1863 contest were 13,366. (187) The number of bands competing also declined; 44 bands from various parts of England and Wales took part in the first day of the 1860 Crystal Palace contest. (188) Only 21 competed in 1863. (189)

(190) Brass Band News, 1 October 1886, p[4].

(191) The British Bandsman and Orchestral Times, July 1889, p231.

(192) The British Musician, October 1894, p239. While the comment was inaccurate, its spirit - that band contesting was extremely rare in London - was not.

(193) See, for instance, The British Bandsman and Orchestral Times, July 1890, pp217-8 and The Musical Times, 1 September 1887, pp534-5.

After the discontinuance of Jackson's contests, the handlist of contests in the appendix indicates that, in contrast with the situation in northern England, contesting remained comparatively rare in most parts of the south for the remainder of the century. This is borne out by other evidence. There are numerous references in the band press to the south's lack of band contests. A correspondent in the Brass Band News stated in 1886 that 'Band Contests in Cornwall are of very rare occurrence - perhaps one or two in a year, and some times not even that'. (190) An article by R.C. Rule on southern banding, published in The British Bandsman in 1889, implied that band contests were more or less unknown in southern England. (191) In 1894, another article, in The British Musician, stated (inaccurately) that the contests held in August of that year at West Ham Park were 'the first band contests held in London for many years'. (192)

Instead of becoming involved in the rather introverted world of contesting, most southern bands had the function of providing music for the wider community, playing for a variety of different occasions. Southern bandsmen sometimes complained about unfair competition for engagements - particularly competition from police bands and from the numerous regular army bands stationed in the south. (193) However, competition did not prevent some southern bands fulfilling a large number of engagements. A

(194) Brass Band News, 1 February 1883, p[5].

(195) ERO D/Z 81/1, p193 and p233.



report of the annual dinner of the Original Hoxton Temperance band, held in January 1883, stated that the band had carried out 47 engagements in the previous 10 months - an extremely heavy schedule for amateur musicians. (194) Other bands were not quite so busy; the lists of engagements of the Woodford band show that the band gave 18 performances in 1898. (195)

In the areas of the north where contesting was important - such as the West Yorkshire textile district - the economic and social geography was well suited to the development of contesting bands. Here, small industrial villages were very common. Bands based in such communities could obtain the high degree of commitment required from players in contesting bands. In the late nineteenth century, there were few commercial leisure facilities in small towns and villages; there were therefore few counter-attractions to rehearsals. In many cases, the members of a band worked in the same factory; it was therefore easier to arrange rehearsals. There was often a strong sense of community; this inspired bandsmen to still greater efforts in preparing for contests. Communal pride may also have manifested itself in industrial patronage for contesting bands. Works bands from the north enjoyed numerous benefits, such as time off work for rehearsal, a practice room, professional tuition and assistance with the purchase of instruments. Possibly because of these

(196) See Russell 1987, p165 et seq.. See also Hunt 1973, esp. pp37-42.

(197) Brass Band News, 1 December 1888, p[4] - letter to editor from 'Cuivres', dated 31 October. The 'Cuivres' correspondence is interesting because it is an analysis of the state of London banding by a northern bandsman who had also played with London bands.

advantages, industrially-sponsored bands tended to do well in band competitions; 22 of the 46 first prizes awarded at the Manchester Belle Vue competitions between 1853 and 1899 inclusive were won by bands which apparently had some industrial connection. Local pride meant that bands could receive assistance with the various expenses of contesting from working-class people, especially as workers in areas such as Lancashire and Yorkshire generally enjoyed relatively high wages. Also, the high density of population in these areas meant that contests could be organised without the competing bands having to travel far. (196)

By contrast, the economic and social geography of much of the south militated against the development of contesting. Although the metropolitan area was an area of generally high real wages, with a great deal of industry and a high population density (all of which had assisted the development of contesting in the north) the geography of London was unsuited to contesting. London bands found it difficult to obtain from their members the large amount of rehearsal time and private practice required in order to participate successfully in contests because, in London, as one commentator remarked, 'the counter attractions of theatres, music halls, and other entertainments are numerous'. (197) (The presence of the entertainment industry in London was also a counter-



(198) Brass Band News, 1 December 1888, p[4] - letter to editor from 'Cuivres', dated 31 October.

(199) Ibid., 1 January 1889, p[4] - letter to editor from 'Cuivres', dated 15 December.

(200) Ibid., 1 December 1888, p[4] - letter to editor from 'Cuivres', dated 31 October.

(201) Of course, it is difficult to use bands' names to discern their connections with workplaces; it may be that names mislead. Also, these figures only relate to bands taking part in contests; probably the majority of bands did not compete at all. The six bands which appear to have been connected with a workplace were mainly associated with the railways. They were: Watford L. & N.W.R., St. Pancras M.R., Midland Rly. Loco., Cricklewood Midland Loco., Willesden Junction and Thames Ironworks.



attraction for potential spectators for a contest.) Practice at home was difficult for some bandsmen because of overcrowded housing. (198) The members of a London band could be employed in a variety of occupations with a variety of finishing times. In order to accommodate this, rehearsals had to start late. Also, as working men began to move into the suburbs, some players lived some distance away from their band's rehearsal room. Therefore, practices had to be curtailed in order to allow commuters to catch the last trains home. (199)

Because many working men in London lived away from their work and because commercial leisure facilities were available, industrialists may have been less generous in providing assistance with works bands. Contemporaries were certainly convinced that London bands, unlike their northern counterparts, received little industrial patronage. One observer stated that very few employers in London were prepared to support bands for their workforce. (200) This particular complaint was probably unfair; 38 bands from the London area can be identified in the contest reports of the Brass Band Annuals for the years 1893 to 1899 inclusive. Of these, 6 (just under 16%) appear to have been associated with a workplace. (201) The proportion of bands in London having an association with industry seems to have been comparable to the proportion of bands in the West Yorkshire textile district which had

(202) Russell 1980, p95.

(203) The British Bandsman and Orchestral Times, 1  
November 1888, p47. Letter to editor from T. Bridgood,  
dated 8 October.

industrial connections. In this area, Russell has estimated that 'only about 15%' of bands were connected with a workplace. (202)

However, it is possible that the nature of industrial patronage was different in London; London bands with industrial connections may have received less assistance than their northern counterparts. A letter from Thomas Bridgood, a bandmaster based in Stratford, East London, appeared in The British Bandsman in 1888. Bridgood (who appears to have had some knowledge of northern bands) stated that London bands were at a disadvantage because metropolitan employers did not give their bandsmen the job security and time off work for practice which were allowed to northern factory bandsmen. (203) It will also be remembered that volunteer bands in the south probably enjoyed a slightly lower level of support from the force than was the case elsewhere. A feeling of being at a disadvantage probably contributed to the reluctance of London bandsmen to take part in major competitions, even when these contests were held in the capital.

The social and economic geography of much of the rest of the south also inhibited the development of contesting. With the exception of towns such as Bristol, Norwich, Reading and Swindon, much of southern England was less industrialised than the London area. Lee's short essay and tables on regional structure show that, in 1851, a large proportion of the working population of the south outside

(204) See Lee 1986, p31, maps 3.1 and 3.2.

(205) See *ibid.*, p32, maps 3.3 and 3.4.

(206) Although most of the competitors were from Devon, the winning band was the Blandford band, from Dorset, and the fourth prize winner was the Gloucester Volunteer Engineers' band. (The Western Times, Saturday 10 August 1861, p3.)

(207) See Hunt 1973, pp14-17.



the metropolis was employed in agriculture. Although the importance of agriculture was to decline, it remained significant in some areas, even in 1911. (204) Lee. also shows that, in 1851, manufacturing industry was not as important an employer of labour in the south as it was elsewhere. This was still the case in 1911, although manufacturing was employing a larger proportion of the workforce of the south by this stage. (205)

The rural and agricultural character of much of the south meant that the advantages of industrial patronage were denied to all but a very few southern bands outside the London area. It also militated against the development of contesting in other ways. Population and bands were scattered over a wide area; bands faced long journeys by road or rail if they wished to take part in contests of any size. Two of the competitors at the Exeter contest of 1861 had travelled a very long way in order to compete. (206) The expense and time involved in travelling probably discouraged bands from coming together for contests.

It will be remembered that bands were often financed by working people; however, in many of the rural parts of southern England, wages and disposable incomes were generally very low. In the south-west, wages were generally much below the national average, although the situation improved somewhat in the latter part of the nineteenth century. (207) In the rural south-east, wage

(208) See Hunt 1973, pp17-20.

levels deteriorated; in the middle of the century, they were close to the national average; however, by 1914, they were the lowest in Britain. (208) It was therefore difficult for bands located in these areas to find the money to meet the various expenses associated with contesting, such as the costs of travel, music and perhaps the fees of a band trainer.

Other geographical factors served to inhibit the development of contesting amongst southern bands. The remoteness of much of the south from the centres of contesting in Lancashire and Yorkshire (and, to a lesser extent, the Midlands) made it difficult for bands to begin contesting; even if a southern band became interested in contesting, it either had to travel north or organise a contest of its own - with all the difficulties that this entailed.

The unstandardised instrumentation of some southern bands (see section iv)) prevented them from attending brass band contests, the rules of which specified that bands should employ a certain combination of instruments.

Another reason for the absence of contesting in most parts of the south was the location of a large proportion of the bands of the regular armed forces in the region. These included many of the major military bands, such as the bands of the Guards, the Royal Artillery and the Royal Marines. The presence of so many good military bands in the south meant that southern civilian bands were more

(209) The Brass Band Annual and Bandsman's Companion,  
1896, p9. (This was published in December 1395.)



likely than bands elsewhere to employ retired or serving military bandsmen as bandmasters; it has already been shown that many southern bandmasters had some military experience. Former military bandsmen may have been more disposed to favour the brass and reed military-style instrumentation which prevented southern bands from entering many contests.

However, in about the last decade of the nineteenth century, there are signs that a few southern bands were becoming more interested in contesting. In 1895, The Brass Band Annual for 1896 [sic] reported that:

Band contesting is also spreading in all directions, and from the "bleak and barren North" it has gradually worked its way down towards the "sunny South". It is gratifying to find that 1895 has produced contests which have succeeded where hitherto they were unknown and deemed impossible, and much has been done towards what we may call "nationalising" the movement. No longer is it indigenous to Lancashire and Yorkshire; it has extended in all directions, and it is probably but a matter of time when North, South, East and West will closely rival each other. (209)

(210) The Brass Band Annual and Bandsman's Companion, 1896, p35.

(211) Ibid., loc. cit..

(212) Ibid., loc. cit.. Ryan was originally a northern bandsman; he had been a soprano cornet player with Irwell Bank band from Lancashire. (See *ibid.*, 1894, pp14-15.)

(213) Ibid., 1896, p35. Goodger had been involved in contesting bands in the north, according to Andrews 1907, p15.

(214) The Brass Band Annual and Bandsman's Companion, 1896, p35. John Gladney (1839-1911) was, at this stage, conducting the famous Kingston Mills band. Originally a professional clarinetist with Hallé and Jullien, Gladney had become a trainer of contesting bands in northern England by the 1870s. He had been associated with a number of other successful contesting bands, such as Black Dyke Mills and Meltham Mills. Gladney already had an extremely impressive contest record; he conducted 12 of the winning bands at the Belle Vue 'Open' contest between 1873 and 1893 inclusive. (See Taylor 1979, p71 et seq. and p263 et seq..)

As the quotation above indicates, the first southern bands to share the almost obsessive concern of the 'crack' northern bands with contesting and the technical excellence it demanded were located in the more northerly areas of the region. Probably the first of these was the Luton Red Cross band (formed in 1890 by former members of the Ashton Street Mission band). From the beginning, the band was extremely ambitious, aiming at achieving high musical standards. It was reported that the bandsmen had severed their attachment to the mission because 'the rules of the society somewhat retarded the progress of the band'. (210) The initial drive for musical improvement was sustained impressively. In 1892, the band equipped itself with a new set of high-quality Besson instruments. (211) A number of professional band trainers from the north and the midlands were engaged. Within 6 months of the band's formation, Randolph Ryan, conductor and solo cornet of Kettering Town band, had been employed to give occasional lessons to the players. (212) William Goodger of Sheffield was engaged to conduct in 1893. (213) In the same year, John Gladney, unquestionably one of the most successful professional band trainers of the day, was brought in as a professional conductor. He continued to work with Luton Red Cross on an occasional basis throughout the 1890s. (214) In 1894, J.T. Ogden was hired for three years as solo cornet player and conductor. Ogden, who had been the



- (215) The Brass Band Annual and Bandsman's Companion, 1896, p35.
- (216) Ibid., 1894, p64. Luton Red Cross had taken part (unsuccessfully) in a contest at Aylesbury as early as July 1891. (See *ibid.*, 1896, p35.)
- (217) Ibid., 1900, p15.
- (218) See Littlemore 1987, p318 et seq..
- (219) Simmons 1986, p277.



soprano cornet player with Kingston Mills band from 1890 to 1894, may have been recommended by Gladney. (215)

Luton Red Cross soon became heavily involved in contesting. By the end of 1893, the band had won prizes in 4 contests and had taken part in others. (216) In 1899 alone, they won prizes in no less than 9 competitions. (217) The band was quickly established as one of the leading contesting bands in the country - an almost unprecedented achievement for a southern band. They became regular competitors at the annual Manchester Belle Vue competitions (which were the most prestigious band contests of the day) from 1896 onwards. (218) In 1897, the band won sixth prize, being placed above such famous bands as Black Dyke Mills, Wyke and Besses o' th' Barn. The Luton bandsmen continued to enjoy success in major contests in the early twentieth century. The pinnacle of the band's ambitions was attained when they won the 'National' championship at the Crystal Palace in 1923, being the first and only southern band ever to do so.

There were probably a number of geographical reasons for the emergence of Luton Red Cross as a contesting band. Luton enjoyed good communications with the north and midlands; it was on the Midland railway's line between London and the north. (219) This facilitated the importation of professional band trainers from the north and midlands. It also allowed the Luton players to travel

(220) Andrews 1907, p7.

(221) The Brass Band Annual and Bandsman's Companion,  
1896, p54.

(222) See *ibid.*, 1897, p16 and Littlemore 1937, pp315-6.

to hear (and, thereafter, wish to emulate) the great contesting bands at contests in London and the midlands. Andrews stated that the Ashton Street bandmen formed Luton Red Cross because they had 'listened to some of the best bands from Northamptonshire and the North of England and wanted to be as good as the best'. (220) Luton's good communications also facilitated the band's busy contest schedule; if the band had been unable to travel north, it would (at least initially) have found it difficult to discover more than one or two southern contests to enter.

In the mid-1890s, a number of other bands in Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire began to take a serious interest in contesting - although with somewhat less success than Luton Red Cross. Bands such as Bedford Town, Olney Town, St. Albans Abbey, Wolverton Printing Works, Dunstable Borough and Dunstable Excelsior bands were each taking part in several contests a year at about this time. It is a measure of their commitment to contesting that these bands often arranged for professional band trainers to conduct them. For instance, Olney Town were conducted by G.F. Birkinshaw in 1895. (221) G.F. Birkinshaw (1852-96) was a well-known northern band trainer; he had been a solo cornet player with Black Dyke and Meltham Mills bands and had also conducted some of the leading contesting bands, such as Wyke Old and Besses o' th' Barn. (222)

(223) See The Brass Band Annual, 1894; the contests were at: Aylesbury (p46) and Bedford (p50).

(224) See *ibid.*, 1895; the contests were at: Aylesbury (p44), Leighton Buzzard (p57) Wolverton (p58) and Luton (p59).

(225) See *ibid.*, 1897; the contests were at: Luton (p50), Bletchley (p52), Olney (p57), Leighton Buzzard (p61), Woburn Sands (p62), Bedford (p62), Slough (p65) and a second contest at Luton (p67).

(226) See *ibid.*, 1898; the contests were at: Bedford (p50), Berkhamsted (p51), St. Albans (p54), Hitchin (p54), Luton (p55), Aylesbury (p57), a second contest at Luton (p59), Woburn Sands (p61), Leighton Buzzard (p61), Apsley (p63) and Slough (p63).



Another indicator of the increasing involvement in contesting of bands from Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire is the growth in the number of contests held in those counties. The Brass Band Annual gave details of two contests which took place in 1893 in this area. (223) Four contests were reported as being held in 1894. (224) In 1896, at least 8 contests took place in this area. (225) The Brass Band Annual gave results of 11 contests which took place in Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire in 1897. (226)

In the last few years of the nineteenth century, bands elsewhere in southern England also began to take a greater interest in contesting. Some of the bands in the London area were beginning to become more involved in contests in the late 1890s (the Essex and Middlesex Band Association and the London and Home Counties Band Association were formed at about this time) and this was true to a lesser extent of bands in Gloucestershire.

The appearance of a major contesting band at Luton was very important in the development of contesting elsewhere in the south. The high quality of the band probably caused other southern bandsmen to admire and seek to emulate it; Andrews (a trombonist in Luton Town and Volunteer bands) gave the following awestruck description of the playing of Luton Red Cross:

(227) Andrews 1907, p11.

(228) See The Brass Band Annual and Bandsman's Companion, 1895, p58.

(229) Ibid., 1897, p52.

(230) Ibid., 1897, p61.

(231) See Andrews op. cit., p42. See Ogden's advertisement in ibid., p51.

Their playing of a classic selection is very fine, their ff in the last movement is just as powerful as the first, both manly and strong, but not harsh; their pp is beautiful to listen to. When a soloist is playing a solo there is a keen understanding amongst the other bandsmen to keep the tone down, and this is done beautifully. In some movements where the full tone of the band is heard they give a free, bold reading of the music, and their style, tone and balance is wonderful, until one can hardly realise they [sic] are listening to a brass band but to a large and powerful organ. As a band there is not their equal in the South of England. (227)

Luton Red Cross also attracted a number of capable band trainers and soloists to Luton from the north and from other areas of southern England. Some of these men were to be conductors of the contesting bands which were to spring up in parts of the south in the late 1890s. J.T. Ogden built up what was probably quite a good living as a band trainer. He was to conduct a number of contesting bands in the south, such as Bedford Town, (228) Wolverton Printing Works, (229) Dunstable Borough (230) and Dunstable Excelsior band. (231) Some of the Luton Red Cross

(232) See The Brass Band Annual and Bandsman's Companion, 1896, p36.

(233) Ibid., 1898, p51.

(234) Ibid., 1899, p42 - this is probably the same G. Dimmock. See also ibid., 1896, p36. Dimmock was advertising as a band trainer, solo cornetist and adjudicator in Andrews 1907, p11.



bandsmen also became band trainers; Harry Cannon, the band's bandmaster and solo cornet player, became bandmaster and solo cornetist of St. Albans City band (232) and was also to conduct Berkhamsted Volunteers. (233) The soprano cornet player, George Dimmock, also tutored bands, among them (probably) Lydney Town. (234)

A further factor in the spread of band contests in the south was the advocacy of contesting by the band press, which (as has been shown earlier in this section) was constantly printing letters and articles advising southern bands to take part in contests.

What was taking place in the south in the late nineteenth century was (as the Brass Band Annual stated above) a sort of 'nationalising' process; previously, the south had developed differently to the rest of the country because bands showed little interest in contesting; there was no group of bands (as there was in Yorkshire and Lancashire) which participated more than occasionally in contests. However, by the last decade of the century, the differences between the south and elsewhere were beginning to be eroded; there was an emerging sense that banding was a 'movement', that banding in the south was not so very different to banding elsewhere. Southern bands were, in short, becoming integrated into the wider banding world.

However, this process of integration should not be overemphasised; it had not progressed far by the end of the period covered by this chapter. Contesting remained

(235) See The Brass Band Annual and Bandsman's Companion, 1897, pp19-21. This figure does not tally with the contest reports given later in the same issue.

(236) See *ibid.*, 1900, *passim*.

comparatively rare in southern England. The Brass Band Annual reported that 22 contests were held in 1896 in the south, out of a total of 208 in the country as a whole. (235) Probably only a minority of bands elsewhere were frequently involved in contesting; however, in the south, an even smaller proportion of bands took much part in band competitions, and most of these were concentrated in the counties of Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire. The Brass Band Annual reported that 17 contests took place in southern England in 1899. Of these, 9 were held in Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire. (236)

Indeed, the 'nationalisation' of band contesting is a development much more connected with the twentieth century, a period which falls outside the scope of this study. After 1900, the Crystal Palace 'National' competitions began; these were important in encouraging southern bands to take part in contests. Southern bands could compete at these without feeling at a disadvantage, because the competing bands were graded and divided into divisions of roughly similar ability - rather like football teams. Also, the competition developed regional qualifying rounds, which meant that, initially at least, southern bands did not have to compete against bands from areas which were considered to be more skilled at contesting. Furthermore, the location of the finals of the



'National' in London was convenient for many southern bands.

Even in the twentieth century, the south has remained less committed to contesting than other regions of the country - perhaps because of the geographical factors mentioned above. Band contests are less common in the south than they are elsewhere. A large proportion of the contests which do take place in southern England are finals of national competitions, which draw large numbers of contestants from all over the country. Many bands in the south are still non-contesting bands. Only a few southern bands have achieved a degree of success in major competitions in the twentieth century, notably Callender's Cable Works from Kent, Morris Motors, Hanwell, Hendon, Luton, Newham and Stanshawe (now Sun Life).

Like the commercial forces mentioned in the previous section, the increasing influence of contesting upon bands was cutting against the grain of various writers' prescriptions regarding bands' repertoire and instrumentation. It also cultivated an approach to music-making which was at odds with that favoured by 'respectable' opinion.

It has already been mentioned that many contests expected bands to play test pieces which were drawn from the lighter, lower-status repertoire, such as marches or dances. The growing market for test pieces of



(237) Gladney claimed that the instrumentation of Meltham Mills band was copied by other contesting bands. See Taylor 1979, pp72-3.

(238) Ibid., p61. Scott 1970, p157 refers to the Belle Vue contest banning valved trombones in 1875. See also The Brass Band Annual and Bandsman's Companion, 1895, p9, which stated:

Contesting has demanded and obtained a full band of 24 performers, with a standard instrumentation with which we are all familiar. Years ago there were but few full, well-balanced bands, but the contesting principle has changed the old order of things and bands have striven to imitate the "crack" bands both in numbers and arrangement.

this kind probably encouraged music publishers to bring out more and more light music.

Contesting - particularly in the later nineteenth century - exerted several pressures upon bands, which meant that contesting bands tended to make use of the same all-brass, standardised instrumentation of cornets, flugel horns, tenor horns, euphoniums, baritones, trombones, Eb and BBb basses which was being promoted by music firms such as Wright and Round. The combinations employed by the successful contesting bands - such as John Gladney's Meltham Mills band in the 1870s - were probably noticed and emulated by those seeking to achieve the same amount of success. (237) Contest rules laid down restrictions on the instruments which could be used by competitors. The Belle Vue contest regulations of 1863 even stipulated that all the cornets played in competing bands were to be pitched in Bb. (238) The relationship between standardisation and contesting is underlined by the fact that Luton Red Cross band was the only band in Table 7.2 which approximated to the standard instrumentation. Luton was the only band which was heavily involved in contesting.

Contesting was not only important in the process of bands developing a standardised (and low-status) all-brass instrumentation. Increasingly, contest success could bring a number of rewards for bandsmen. The development of the

(239) The Brass Band Annual and Bandsman's Companion, 1896, pp35-6. There were many other articles of this kind, giving profiles and sometimes photographs of leading bands and bandsmen.

(240) Taylor 1983, p19.

local and national newspapers during Victoria's reign meant that successful bandsmen could gain unprecedented national recognition and celebrity. Increasingly, the members of leading contesting bands could also attain considerable status amongst bandsmen; this was facilitated by the 'band press', which appeared in the last two decades of the century. In this, the members of the 'crack' bands were held up for admiration and emulation. For instance, in The Brass Band Annual of 1896, there was an article on the history and leading members of Luton Red Cross band. (239) The extent to which contest success could bring high status to an individual is demonstrated in the following recollection of Albert Coupe, who was a player and conductor at Luton. Coupe recalled that, when he was very young, his family received a visit from John Gladney:

Although I was very young, I remember as clearly as if it were yesterday Mr. Gladney coming. To us, you see, Mr. Gladney was a god... it was a tremendous honour for our family when he stayed to tea. (240)

Probably many late nineteenth-century bandsmen came to yearn after, or fiercely cherish, the high status associated with a successful contesting career.



(241) The Salisbury and Winchester Journal and General Advertiser, Saturday 1 August 1863, p7.

Contests also held the promise of considerable material rewards. Successful bands were often the recipients of valuable prizes; when Blandford band won the Crystal Palace contest of 1863, they received a sum of £30, as well as a cup for the bandmaster, 'a magnificent champion circular contra-basso in double B flat', a solo prize of 'an electro-plated and gilt, elegantly chased baritone horn', valued at £20, as well as a banner. (241) A band's success at a contest might have other consequences; the band might improve its chances of obtaining engagements. There may also have been some betting on the result.

As the rewards offered by contesting increased, so contest success became an increasingly important aim for bandsmen. This was out of tune with idealistic middle-class ideas about the moral and educative purpose of banding. For middle-class writers, participation in banding - 'playing the game', in a manner of speaking - was what mattered. For some bandsmen, participation was not sufficient in itself; as the rewards of success multiplied, winning in contests became an increasingly important objective. Band competitions could be fiercely competitive; this competitiveness sometimes boiled over into disorderly behaviour, the very thing some people considered bands were intended to prevent. The intensity of some bands' approach to contesting can be gauged by the

- (242) The Brass Band Annual and Bandsman's Companion,  
1899, p39.
- (243) The British Bandsman, 15 April 1888, p131.

fact that bands were even prepared to employ professional conductors for contests where the prize money was fairly small. For instance, both Dunstable Excelsior band and Barnet Town band were conducted by the professional band trainer J.T. Ogden at a minor contest at St. Albans in 1898 at which the first prize was only £5; Ogden's fees would probably have absorbed much of this. (242)

A number of articles in the 'band press' reflected the tension between bandsmen's attitude to contests and the more idealistic view of banding as an 'improving' agency. In 1888, George Bowles wrote an article in The British Bandsman entitled 'Band Contests. (Their use and abuse.)'. He asked:

do we look upon them [contests] as a means of exciting a wholesome spirit of rivalry, and thereby raising the quality of instrumental musical performances in this country; or, do we belong to those who believe in winning at any cost, and expect to do so whether we play to the judge's satisfaction or not? (243)

There is a parallel in this respect between banding and association football. Like banding, football was promoted by some middle-class people as a 'rational recreation'. Football was one example of 'muscular Christianity'; participation in the game was seen as



(244) It may be, of course, that while contesting and commercial influences were counteracting the effect of middle-class opinion upon banding, there were other means by which bandsmen came to be influenced by the ideology of their social superiors. These may have balanced the effect of commercialism and contesting. For instance, Russell has suggested that bandsmen may have received some sort of militaristic conditioning from the repertoire and military trappings of bands. (See Russell 1987, pp250-1.) however, I remain sceptical about the extent to which bandsmen were influenced by ideologies such as patriotism and respectability.

developing a man's resources of self-discipline, loyalty and teamwork. This view was not shared by the working classes. Both working-class players and spectators were less interested in character-building and 'playing the game' than they were in winning: players could use gamesmanship; spectators were partisan and even violent. In football, as in banding, the middle class and the working class came to be at cross-purposes.

Therefore, by the end of the nineteenth century, contesting and commercial forces were moving banding in a direction which was contrary to that desired by 'respectable' opinion. It has been argued in this thesis that working-class bandsmen probably displayed a considerable amount of resistance to the ideology which various reformers attempted to foist upon them. In some respects, bandsmen of the late nineteenth century were becoming still less amenable to prescriptions handed down 'from above'. (244) The term 'the movement', which was applied increasingly to banding at this time, did not just imply the growing integration of bands in the various parts of the country; it also conveyed a sense of the separateness of banding from outside influences. Looking back over the history of brass bands in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Russell and Elliot were to observe:

(245) Russell and Elliot 1936, p132. In these remarks and elsewhere, Russell and Elliot may have carried the idea of the band movement's separateness a little too far; it has been shown earlier in this thesis that there were a number of contacts between bands and other components of the musical scene - such as the bands of the regular army.

Many changes have taken place during the last three-quarters of a century; yet, even to-day, the brass band movement is a vast isolated domain, the inner conditions of which are known to few who tread with confidence in many other provinces of the musical world. (245)



SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER  
RESEARCH

- i) Summary
- ii) Conclusions
- iii) Suggestions for further research

## SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

### i) Summary

A number of bands, many of them composed of brass and woodwind players, came into existence in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Some instrumental ensembles were formed to accompany the singing in country churches. Others were secular bands, many of which were established in connection with the auxiliary forces of the army.

It is clear that much of the impetus for the formation of these ensembles came from the more prosperous members of society, who encouraged bands for a variety of reasons, including for their own consumption. The wealthier classes were also important in providing finance for these bands, although, in the case of the bands of the auxiliary forces, government money was also misappropriated for this purpose.

These early ensembles were important to the later development of brass and wind bands in a number of ways. Before the late eighteenth century, instrumental music had been beyond the means of most of the working class; instruments, music and tuition were all expensive. The funding available for church and secular bands enabled large numbers of working-class amateurs to gain access to facilities for instrumental music-making. Bandsmen

obtained varying amounts of musical knowledge and many learned to play a brass or woodwind instrument. As a result of the activities of church and secular ensembles, the number of skilled amateur bandsmen amongst the working class increased in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Some of these musicians were to provide skilled manpower for the bands of the mid- and even the late nineteenth century. Also, later bands were to take advantage of the tradition of banding established amongst the working class in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Successive generations of some families seem to have been encouraged to become involved in bands. The family may also have been important in handing down musical knowledge of various kinds.

The early bands accustomed the general public to hearing bands of instrumentalists (many of which were wind bands) often playing a fairly light repertoire. There are also indications that the early bands made this type of music-making quite popular with the people of their localities.

The bands associated with the church and the auxiliary forces and, later, civilian secular wind bands often possessed a degree of discipline and organisation, which may have prefigured and influenced the organisation of the bands of the Victorian period.



The early bands also gave rise to a small amount of commercial interest. A few firms earned an important part of their income from supplying bands with various items. A large number of pieces - usually marches - were published for the bands of the auxiliary forces. During this period, it was probably becoming clear to commercial interests that amateur bands represented a potentially profitable market.

Banding expanded in the south in the mid- and late nineteenth century. There were a number of reasons for this. Particularly from the 1830s onwards, banding was identified by some commentators as a 'rational recreation', one function of which was to promote respectable behaviour amongst the working classes, who were perceived as potentially rebellious and fond of dissipated amusements. This view was to be an important motive for many Victorian patrons of banding. However, bands did not meet with unqualified approval; opinion was divided as to the respectability of bands playing on Sundays or in association with the Salvation Army. Also, the light repertoire and the instrumentation employed by bands came to be accorded very low status by many Victorian writers, who prescribed certain rather impractical changes which bands could make in order to raise their standing. It was recommended that the repertoire should include more 'art' music. Brass bands



in particular were encouraged to make use of other wind instruments, such as saxophones.

The expansion of banding in the Victorian period can be divided into two phases; the earlier of these runs from about the time of Victoria's accession to about 1859. In this period, expansion was encouraged by a number of factors. Chromatic brass instruments began to become widely available; these - particularly valved instruments such as the cornet and the saxhorns - had a number of advantages over woodwind instruments. The availability of chromatic brass instruments also made it possible for all-brass ensembles to be formed, which were particularly well-suited to amateur use. Band instruments were promoted by instrument makers and retailers, who increasingly made use of the press to advertise their products. The attention of the public was also drawn to band instruments by the numerous travelling performers who were touring the country in the mid-nineteenth century. Bands attracted some support from middle-class people in this period because they were associated with the moral 'improvement' of the working class. However, the wealthier members of society also encouraged band music for their own consumption and, unlike the music critics, were often enthusiastic in their support for the light repertoire played by bands. As banding was seen as a reputable, 'rational' recreation, it is possible that working-class support for bands was an indication of the success

of contemporary campaigns to disseminate middle-class notions of respectability to the lower orders. However, the behaviour of bandsmen and their supporters may be explicable in other terms; contemporaries may have been misled by working men playing the role of the respectable in order to gain middle-class support. Also, the apparent respectability of bandsmen may be attributable to the persistence of older traditions of organised, disciplined working-class leisure activity. There is other evidence of continuity; bands continued to play a great deal of light music, despite the disapproval of some commentators. Also, some of the more disreputable activities of bandsmen persisted into this period. There were probably other reasons for men joining bands, such as improvements in musical education and, perhaps most importantly, the fact that the more prosperous working men who made up the majority of bandsmen were probably beginning to benefit from increases in real wages and in leisure time by the mid-nineteenth century. These improvements allowed them more time and money to pursue an interest in music.

The second phase in the expansion of banding runs from about 1860 to about 1900. During this period, the pace of expansion quickened. The comparatively high level of patronage extended to banding by the volunteer force established in 1859 was very important in encouraging and shaping bands in a number of ways. Local government and a



variety of individuals and organisations gave generous support to band performances. There were a number of explanations for this, many of them particularly associated with the late nineteenth century. Although middle-class people were becoming less interested in supporting bands for their own consumption by the last twenty or thirty years of the nineteenth century, they were still prepared to support bands, often perceiving these as agencies of social control which promoted respectable behaviour and discouraged the working classes from taking part in disreputable amusements or radical political activity.

Although working-class people in this period may have been attracted to banding by its respectable connotations, it is probable that, as before, the impact of middle-class ideology was fairly limited; much of the 'respectability' of bandsmen may have been role-playing or the persistence of older forms of working-class behaviour. Opinion-formers' criticisms of the band repertoire seem to have had little effect and bands continued to play a great deal of light music. There are two other indications that middle-class ideology still had not had a great deal of effect upon the working class. The rowdiness associated with some popular entertainments in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was sometimes a feature of late nineteenth-century banding. Also, the excessive importance of bands in the volunteer force was partly the result of

pressure from the largely working-class lower ranks. These men appear to have been more interested in the leisure facilities provided by the force (of which bands were an important part) than they were inspired by the patriotic or social aims of volunteering. The considerable enthusiasm for bands shown by the working classes of southern England in this period also may be associated with other factors, such as further improvements in the amounts of time and money available to working men for recreational purposes and the continued expansion of musical education.

The growth of banding in the late nineteenth century was also influenced by (and influenced) the further development of a branch of the music industry catering for bands. Instruments, music and other items became cheaper and more easily available for bandsmen. The promotional activities of retailers and manufacturers were also stepped up during this period. In the late nineteenth century, the increasing influence of the music industry was sometimes cutting against the grain of 'respectable' opinion; publishers were promoting a large number of light pieces to bands. Music firms were helping to disseminate the idea of a standardised all-brass band composed of valved brass instruments and trombones, which, contrary to the prescriptions of the critics, did not include other wind instruments.

Band contesting began in earnest in Britain in about



the middle of the century and quickly became popular in the north of England. For a number of reasons, contesting did not begin to become established in the south until about the last decade of the nineteenth century, when southern banding started to become integrated with what was coming to be known as the band 'movement'. Just as the music industry was sometimes at odds with the critics, so contesting was also to move banding in a direction contrary to that desired by some opinion-formers. Contests sometimes required bands to play light pieces and encouraged publishers to produce marches and fantasias. Like music firms, contests influenced bands to adopt a standard, all-brass instrumentation consisting of valved instruments and trombones. Also, the rewards of contesting - particularly the increasing amounts of status and the prizes given to successful bandsmen - caused banding to become extremely competitive. This sometimes boiled over into rowdiness - the very behaviour some middle-class people considered bands were supposed to discourage. While there is evidence that working-class bandsmen possessed a fair degree of immunity to middle-class ideology during Victoria's reign, it is likely that the resistance and insularity of the brass band movement became greater as commercialisation and contesting became more important.

(1) See, for instance, Gammon 1981, p66 and pp71-2 with reference to the church bands.

(2) See Russell and Elliot 1936, pp3-27. A critical exposition of this view is given in Taylor 1979, pp14-18. Echoes of the Russell and Elliot thesis are to be found in Gammon 1986, p132 and in Scott 1970 - see especially piii.

## ii) Conclusions

It is to be hoped that this thesis has clarified a number of aspects of the origins of amateur banding in Britain. Some researchers have seen early amateur bands as being established and funded largely by working-class bandsmen themselves. (1) The first three chapters of this thesis would allow that this sometimes happened; however, it has been shown that, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the wealthier members of society were also interested in bands - sometimes as entertainment for themselves; these people were important in establishing, encouraging and funding amateur bands of various kinds. Their support was crucial in enabling banding to become widespread amongst the working class; instrumental music-making was an expensive recreation at this time and would normally have been beyond the means of most working men.

The secondary sources for the history of bands often see the early bands as chiefly important in providing a supply of players which sustained the expansion of banding in the mid- and late nineteenth century; players from disbanded military and church bands joined secular civilian bands in order to continue with their musical interests. (2) This thesis does not dispute that this may have happened in some instances. However, secular civilian bands also existed contemporaneously with the

(3) See Russell 1980, p44 et seq. and Russell 1987, p157 et seq..

(4) See, for instance, Russell 1980, passim.. See also Herbert 1988, pp60-1.



church and military bands in a, sometimes, uneasy relationship. Also, the contribution of the 'early' bands to the development of amateur banding in Britain was more complex and significant; they did not just train players; they initiated a widespread tradition of band music among working men. They made the public familiar and even appreciative of bands playing what was often a light repertoire. The early bands may have shown those in the music industry that the world of working-class instrumental music represented a potentially lucrative market. Also, while Russell is probably correct to associate the formalisation of banding with the processes of urbanisation and industrialisation in about the second quarter of the nineteenth century, (3) the organisation and discipline of some early bands prefigured (and may have been an important influence upon) the bands of the early Victorian period.

Various factors have been identified as assisting the development of banding in the nineteenth century, such as improvements in the real wages and free time of the working class; expanding facilities for musical education; the identification of banding as a means for the moral improvement of the working class; the increasing availability of cheap instruments and music and the introduction and promotion of chromatic - particularly valved - brass instruments. (4) I have found no reason to

(5) See, for example, Taylor 1979, p50.

(6) See Russell 1987, pp37-40.

doubt that these factors were very important.

However, I believe that a number of other influences identified with the expansion of banding require greater emphasis. The assistance provided for banding in the late nineteenth century by the volunteers is usually mentioned only too briefly in the secondary sources (5) and should be stressed: the large amounts of funding provided by the force allowed some bands to be reinvigorated; a few received professional tuition; facilities for training young players were established; men were encouraged to become involved in banding by financial incentives; bandsmen were provided with a variety of sometimes exciting musical experiences; a few professional bands were established, which may have served to inspire and instruct amateurs. Also, the establishment of the force in 1859 may have further stimulated the development of a commercial infrastructure for banding.

Russell has pointed out the increasing importance of local government assistance in the development of popular music in the last decade or so of the nineteenth century. (6) The importance of local and national government finance for bands requires still more emphasis. Local government funding for concerts in the parks in the late nineteenth century was only one aspect of government support for banding; as early as the late eighteenth century, many militia and perhaps some volunteer bands

(7) Cunningham 1980, p9.

(8) See Sandiford 1981, p276. See also, for example, the opening chapter of Walvin 1978.



were being financed with government money - although this was contrary to the intention of the authorities. From the 1860s onwards, some volunteer bands appear to have been funded by misappropriation of the capitation grant. Also, in the last decade of the century, government funding for volunteer bands was officially sanctioned.

My study of bands in southern England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has left me with the strong impression that the culture of contemporary working people in this period was not solely determined for them by social changes such as industrialisation and urbanisation, or by the prescriptions of their social superiors. Rather, I would agree with Hugh Cunningham's view that 'the people had some capacity to make their own culture'. (7)

I believe that Cunningham's thesis is particularly relevant to two controversies. Firstly, some historians have stated that, by about the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the processes of industrialisation and urbanisation - coupled with the efforts of various reforming organisations - had destroyed many of the 'traditional' amusements of working people, leaving a sort of 'vacuum'. (8) There are certainly indications that many popular recreations were threatened during this period. However, the evidence on southern amateur bands would suggest that the notion of a 'vacuum' is somewhat

(9) Cunningham has shown that there is no 'vacuum' in the history of popular recreations and that many other working-class amusements survived, adapted, themselves, or were even created in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. See Cunningham 1980, p22 et seq.

(10) The complexity of working-class respectability is also pointed out by Peter Bailey; see Bailey 1979, pp336-8.

pessimistic; banding was an example of a recreational activity which, persisted (and, even flourished) during the 1830s and 1840s. Part of the reason for this was the ingenuity and adaptability of the working men who made up the majority of amateur bandsmen. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the members of bands had found ways of obtaining access to instruments and music, despite the expensiveness of these items. In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, secular civilian bands coped with - and even took advantage of - the social changes of industrialisation and urbanisation by becoming formalised, disciplined organisations. Nor was this change solely determined by the transformation taking place in contemporary British society; the involvement of working men in bands of this kind was a continuation of a tradition amongst the working class of disciplined, organised banding - a tradition which extended far back into the eighteenth century. (9)

A second controversy relates to the 'respectability' of the more prosperous elements of the working class (particularly the so-called 'labour aristocracy', which enjoyed the most stable and well-paid employment) which had much to do with the relative social stability of mid-Victorian Britain. It is probable that no single explanation for this phenomenon will suffice. (10) Therefore, I would not rule out the possibility that the

(11) See Best 1971, p279. See also *ibid.*, p282 et seq..

(12) See also, for example, Delves 1981, p109 et seq., which describes the differences which appeared between middle-class people in early nineteenth-century Derby concerning the respectability of horse-racing.

(13) See Gray 1981, *passim.*



respectability of some working men was simply the result of the 'downward flow' of behavioural norms disseminated by middle-class journalists, clergymen, educators and others. With regard to some working-class people, Geoffrey Best may be correct to state that, while there were some differences in detail over what constituted respectable behaviour, respectability assimilated 'even the most widely separated groups (separated socially or geographically) through a common cult'. (11) For example, there were certainly some similarities in taste between bandsmen and the middle-class people who attended band performances in the mid-nineteenth century. However, I would like to place still greater stress upon the differences - even within the same class - over what constituted respectability; for instance, such disagreements took place with respect to bands and religion. (12)

The views of Robert Gray may also be useful in explaining the behaviour of some people. Gray has stated that the respectability of the more prosperous members of the working class was the result of a number of ideological and social changes which took place during the Industrial Revolution - such as the habituation of the working class to conditions of wage-labour, the increasingly coercive power of the state and the 'bourgeois evangelism' of middle-class intellectuals. (13)

(14) See Gray 1981, p246. See also Bennett 1981, pp9-18 for a similar view.

(15) See Crossick 1976, passim.

However, Gray has suggested that the 'respectability' of the labour aristocracy was rather different to that espoused by the middle class and was a rather uneasy compromise, the result of the adaptation of the dominant ideology to the social conditions of the working class: 'the reproduction of dominant values rested on a more subtle process of negotiated re-definition, in which the conditional independence of working-class institutions came to be recognized'. (14)

While sympathetic to Gray's views, I place less emphasis on the influence exerted over the working class by social changes and the campaigns of middle-class reformers. Like Geoffrey Crossick, I would stress the importance of institutions and practices amongst working people which drew upon established working-class traditions of behaviour, and which (while subtly different) could be wrongly associated with the respectability disseminated by middle-class reformers. This is true of the thrift, discipline and organisation of some mid-nineteenth century bands. (15) The persistence amongst bandmen of rowdiness and an attachment to light music are less ambiguous evidence of the limited effect of the prescriptions of middle-class critics. I would also suspect that Bailey is correct to suggest that the impact of 'bourgeois evangelism' may have been overestimated because working people often acted out the 'role' of the

(16) See Bailey 1979, *passim*..

(17) See Russell 1983, particularly pp109-113. .



respectable in order to obtain the approval and patronage of the middle classes; there is certainly some evidence of this amongst bandsmen. (16) I am also of the opinion that the influence of middle-class prescriptions even diminished in the latter part of the nineteenth century, as contesting and commercialism gained greater influence over the increasingly insular brass band 'movement'.

However, while I believe that attempts to promote the middle-class ideology of respectability amongst working-class bandsmen met with little success, I would contend nevertheless that the objectives of 'bourgeois evangelism' - social stability and middle-class hegemony - were assisted by the development of banding. Dave Russell has shown that, in the late nineteenth century, popular musical societies eased class tensions in a number of ways: for instance, they provided opportunities for pan-class activity and sought to cultivate the widest possible support. They also offered working people a number of 'compensations' for their poor living conditions, thereby turning many away from radical political solutions. (17) During the Victorian period, bands provided working-class people with a number of compensations; it has been shown in this thesis that bandsmen could obtain comradeship and money from their music-making. Not the least of the compensations offered by an involvement in banding was the prospect of the

enhanced status available to leading bandsmen as a result of the development of the framework of contests and the 'band press' which constituted the brass band 'movement'. Thus, while the band 'movement' was, in some respects, a progressive force which may have even hardened a sense of working-class identity, it was also a socially conservative influence.

### iii) Suggestions for further research

Much research on the history of banding remains to be done. There is still a need for someone to undertake further study of the early secular bands of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The motives of the wealthier members of society in supporting bands in this period are particularly in need of further clarification. Perhaps detailed investigation of the private papers of those known to have supported bands

(18) See Western 1965, p371, (fn. 3) which refers to an account [a bill?] of F. Eley for music furnished for the band of the 1st West Riding militia in 1798.



might further understanding of this matter.

Also, there is still very little known about the early secular band repertoire. I suspect that my own research does not give a full picture of the repertoire of early secular bands. The manuscript sources used in this thesis relate only to bands in rural Sussex. The newspaper accounts and autobiographies I have found furnish only fragmentary evidence of the sort of music played by bands on special occasions such as coronations or royal visits. I have found no evidence of the repertoire which was used by those volunteer and militia bands who played in concerts. It would help to clarify the situation if more manuscript music for early wind bands was found. More work might also be done on local newspaper reports of band performances. It may also be profitable for the student of the early band repertoire to examine some of the account books and collections of bills and receipts associated with the units of the auxiliary forces which supported bands. These occasionally refer to payments to musicians for arranging specified pieces of music for band. (18)

There is also a need for researchers to discover more about the personnel of militia bands in the mid- and late eighteenth century and particularly to establish the extent to which militia bands consisted of amateur players - i.e., musicians who made most of their livelihoods from activities other than playing. This would involve detailed



analysis and cross-referencing of various printed and manuscript sources for the history of militia units, which sometimes provide information about bandsmen's occupations and terms of service.

I am conscious that I have not had the time to consider attitudes to bands in more detail; it would be interesting for another researcher to analyse further the variations in opinion regarding bands.

There is a need for more research on other areas of the country (such as Scotland and the midlands) in order to inform understanding of the development of banding in general and to aid comparisons between the various regions. Also, more research is necessary on southern England; I am uneasily aware that the large chronological and geographical scope of this thesis has prevented me from paying much attention to local variations in southern banding. The recent history of southern banding remains unwritten; it would be particularly interesting to analyse the effects of the social changes of recent times.

However, it is to be hoped that this thesis has added to knowledge of banding in southern England. Also, I hope that I have shown that the study of bands can shed light upon a number of important issues. Perhaps this may encourage other researchers to continue the process of rescuing the history of banding from the oblivion to which it has been so unwarrantably consigned.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Introduction

This bibliography is in a single alphabetical sequence and includes all manuscript and printed sources cited in the text. Apart from newspapers and other serial publications - full details of which are given in sidenotes - the material cited has been keyed to the bibliography by a short title. In the case of books, articles and printed music, the short title usually consists of the name of the author and the year of publication of the edition or reprint used. The short title given for manuscript sources consists of an abbreviation of the name of the archive office, library or other repository which holds the manuscript, followed by a shelf number for the document.

For manuscript sources, the first entry for a repository in the bibliography gives in full the abbreviated title of the holding institution (or details of the owner of material in private hands). In most cases, the reference numbers cited for manuscripts are those of the repository concerned. However, some collections were uncatalogued at the time this thesis was being prepared; in these cases, I have used square brackets in order to locate manuscripts as precisely as possible.

Some of the printed books and music included in the bibliography below are undated. I have given dates for most of these in square brackets, using the British Library catalogues, or (in one or two cases) the catalogues of the holding institution. Many articles in Victorian periodicals are unsigned; I have employed the Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals 1824-1900 in order to identify the authors of a few of these, which are also given in square brackets in the bibliography. I have arrived at the date or the authorship of one or two sources using other means; in these cases, explanations are provided in the text.

For serial publications - such as newspapers and band journals - the bibliography gives the year in which each was first published, as well as the place of publication.



- Able [c.1775] ? Able:  
The Buckinghamshire March  
 [c.1775]
- Abington [1796] W. Abington:  
The Royal East India Quick  
March For a Trumpet, Horns,  
Clarinets, and Bassoons, also  
adapted for the Piano Forte...  
 (London [1796])
- Abington [1797] W. Abington:  
The Royal East India Slow  
March, For a Trumpet, Horns,  
Clarinets, and Bassoons, also  
adapted for the Piano Forte...  
 (London [1797])
- Ainscough 1988 W. Ainscough:  
 William Rimmer "The Doctor of  
 The Brass Band World" (In:  
 A. Littlemore (ed.): The  
Rakeway Brass Band Yearbook 88,  
 (Hollington 1988), pp24-8)



- |         |      |  |
|---------|------|--|
| Albery  | 1944 | W. Albery:<br>Old Sussex Amateur Bands<br>( <u>Sussex County Magazine</u> , vol.<br>XVIII (1944), pp314-320) |
| Albery  | 1945 | W. Albery:<br>Horsham Borough Silver Band<br>( <u>Sussex County Magazine</u> , vol.<br>XIX (1945), pp95-7)   |
| Andrews | 1907 | W. Andrews:<br><u>Illustrated History of Luton &amp;<br/>District Brass Bands</u> (Luton<br>1907)            |
| [Anon.] | 1859 | ?:<br>Musical Prize Fight<br>( <u>All The Year Round</u> , 12 Nov.<br>1859, pp65-8)                          |

- Arnold 1875 M. Arnold:  
Culture and Anarchy An Essay in  
Social and Political Criticism  
 (2nd ed., London 1875)
- Attwood [1799] T. Attwood:  
The Third Regiment of Royal  
East India Volunteers Slow and  
Quick Marches...  
 (London [1799])
- Attwood [1803] T. Attwood:  
Royal Exchange March Composed  
and Inscribed to Lieut<sup>t</sup> Colonel  
Birch and the Rest of the  
Officers of the Royal Exchange,  
or First Regiment of Loyal  
London Volunteers...  
 (London [1803])
- Bacon 1901 G. Bacon:  
 The Genesis of a Brass Band  
 (Good Words, vol. XLII (1901),  
 pp471-5)

- |            |      |  |
|------------|------|--|
| Bailey     | 1977 | <p>P. Bailey:</p> <p>"A Mingled Mass of Perfectly Legitimate Pleasures": The Victorian Middle Class and the Problem of Leisure (<u>Victorian Studies</u>, vol. XXI (1977), pp 7-28)</p>                  |
| Bailey     | 1978 | <p>P. Bailey:</p> <p><u>Leisure and Class in Victorian England Rational recreation and the contest for control, 1830-1885</u> (London 1978)</p>  |
| Bailey     | 1979 | <p>P. Bailey:</p> <p>"Will The Real Bill Banks Please Stand Up?" Towards A Role Analysis Of Mid-Victorian Working-Class Respectability (<u>Journal of Social History</u>, vol. 12 (1979), pp336-353)</p> |
| Bainbridge | 1980 | <p>C. Bainbridge:</p> <p><u>Brass Triumphant</u> (London 1980)</p>   |

- |          |        |  |
|----------|--------|--|
| Baines   | 1856   | E. Baines:<br><u>On the Performance of Military<br/>Bands in the Parks of London<br/>on Sundays</u> (London 1856)  |
| Baines   | 1980   | A. Baines:<br><u>Brass Instruments Their History<br/>and Development</u><br>(repr. London 1980)  |
| Ball     | [1808] | S. Ball:<br><u>The Ipswich Volunteers, Slow &amp;<br/>Quick Marches, with a Funeral<br/>March for a Military Band...</u><br>(London [1808])                    |
| Banfield | 1981   | S. Banfield:<br>Aesthetics and Criticism<br>(In: N. Temperley (ed.): <u>Music<br/>in Britain The Romantic Age<br/>1800-1914</u> , (London 1981),<br>pp455-473) |



- |         |      |   |
|---------|------|---|
| Beckett | 1982 | I.F.W. Beckett:<br><u>Riflemen Form A Study of the<br/>Rifle Volunteer Movement 1859-<br/>1908</u> (Aldershot 1982)                   |
| Bennett | 1836 | W.J.E. Bennett:<br><u>A Sermon on the Neglect and<br/>Apathy of the Public in the<br/>Church Services</u> (London 1836)               |
| Bennett | 1981 | T. Bennett:<br><u>Popular culture: history and<br/>theory</u> (Open University course<br>U203 block 1 unit 3) (Milton<br>Keynes 1981) |

Berkshire Chronicle (Wokingham, 1771-)

B[erkshire] R[ecord] O[ffice]

D/P 91 Pangbourne Parish Records

5/1 [Churchwardens'] Accounts, with some  
rates, 1734-1839

BRO

W Wallingford Borough Records

AC 1/1/3 'The Leidger Book.' 1766-1835.

Best	1971	G. Best: <u>Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-1875</u> (London 1971)
------	------	--

Boon	1978	B. Boon: <u>Play the Music, Play!</u> (2nd ed., London 1978)
------	------	--

Boyce, Curran and Wingate	1978	G. Boyce, J. Curran and and P. Wingate (eds.): <u>Newspaper History from the seventeenth century to the present day</u> (London 1978)
------------------------------	------	---

The Brass Band Annual [and Bandsman's Companion] (Sibsey, 1894-)

Brass Band News (Liverpool, 1881-)



The Bristol Gazette, and Public Advertiser (Bristol,  
1767-)

The Bristol Mercury, Western Counties, Monmouthshire, and  
South Wales Advertiser (Bristol, 1806-)

The British Bandsman (Later: The British Bandsman and  
Orchestral Times; The Orchestral Times and Bandsman; The  
British Musician; The British Bandsman and Contest Field)  
(London, 1887-)

B[ritish] L[ibrary Department of Manuscripts]

Add. 35,659-35,678 Hardwicke Papers.

Vols. CCCXI.-CCCXXX. Letters and papers  
relating to the Cambridgeshire Militia, and  
especially the regiment commanded successively  
by the 2nd and 3rd Earls of Hardwicke; 1757-  
1860. The contents include a correspondence  
between the principal officers of the Militia  
and the Secretaries of State concerning pay,  
clothing, arms, etc.; copies of Acts of  
Parliament for raising or disembodiment of the  
Militia, etc.; and lists of officers,  
commissions, general orders, paymasters'



accounts, descriptions of manoeuvres, weekly drill returns, etc. Twenty volumes.

Add.35661, f.88 [MS letter from Lt.-Col. Ward to Hardwicke, dated 19 August 1781]

BL Add.35667, f.6 [MS beginning 'Return of Drummers of the Cambridge Regm<sup>t</sup> of Militia with the Companies they are Attached to. 23<sup>d</sup> June 1796.']

BL Add.35667, f.31 [MS letter from Lt.-Col. Nightingale to Hardwicke, dated 5 August [1796]]

BL Add.35670, f.202 [MS beginning 'Proceedings of a Court of enquiry held at Norwich Camp - The tenth of July - 1798.']

BL Add. 47775 A&B 'The Old Church Gallery Minstrels'; collections relating to church church orchestras and their instruments, assembled by Canon Kenneth Holland MacDermott; 1934-1952.

- |         |      |   |
|---------|------|---|
| Brown   | 1960 | A. Brown:<br>The Volunteer Band<br>( <u>East Anglian Magazine</u> , vol.<br>19 (1960), pp156-170)   |
| Brown   | 1798 | J. Brown:<br><u>The Rise, Progress &amp; Military<br/>Improvement of the Bristol<br/>Volunteers; with an<br/>Alphabetical List of the<br/>Officers and Privates</u><br>(Bristol 1798) |
| Burstow | 1975 | H. Burstow:<br><u>Reminiscences of Horsham being<br/>Recollections of Henry Burstow<br/>The Celebrated Bellringer &amp;<br/>Songsinger...</u> (ed. W. Albery)<br>(repr. London 1975)  |
| Byrne   | 1964 | M. Byrne:<br>The Church Band at Swalcliffe<br>( <u>Galpin Society Journal</u> , vol.<br>17 (1964), pp89-98)   |

C[ambridgeshire] R[ecord] O[ffice, Cambridge]

R 58/5/2 [MS history of Whittlesford church,  
by G.M. Maynard]

C[ambridgeshire] R[ecord] O[ffice] H[untingdon]

DDX 100/560/2/5 [MS beginning 'Memorandum of  
Terms made and agreed upon  
between the Eynesbury Saxhorn  
Band and the Saint Neots  
Volunteers']

- |       |      |   |
|-------|------|---|
| Carse | 1945 | A. Carse:<br>Adolphe Sax and the Distin<br>Family ( <u>The Music Review</u> , vol.<br>VI (1945), pp193-201) |
| Carse | 1946 | A. Carse:<br>The Prince Regent's Band<br>( <u>Music and Letters</u> , vol. XXVII<br>(1946), pp147-155)      |

- |             |          |   |
|-------------|----------|---|
| Carse       | 1951     | A. Carse:<br><u>The Life of Jullien</u><br>(Cambridge 1951)   |
| Chadwick    | 1966     | O. Chadwick:<br><u>The Victorian Church</u> (2 vols.)<br>(London 1966)  |
| Chamberlain | [c.1929] | S.T. Chamberlain:<br><u>Reading's Musical History</u><br>[unpublished typescript,<br>[c.1929] held at Reading<br>central library] |
- Chappell's Brass Band Journal (London, 1860-)
- |        |        |   |
|--------|--------|---|
| Childe | [1852] | W. Childe:<br><u>The Amateurs' Brass Band</u><br><u>Quartetts</u> (3 sets) (London<br>[1852]) |
|--------|--------|---|



- |               |      |   |
|---------------|------|---|
| Cousins       | 1968 | G. Cousins:<br><u>The Defenders A History of the British Volunteer</u> (London 1968)  |
| Cox           | 1987 | B.G. Cox:<br><u>'Strike Up the Band' A Short History of Brass Banding in Blandford Forum</u> (unpublished typescript, available from B.G. Cox, curator of Blandford Forum museum) |
| Croft-Murray  | 1980 | E. Croft-Murray:<br>The Wind-Band in England, 1540-1840 (In: T.C. Mitchell (ed.): <u>The British Museum Yearbook 4 Music and Civilisation</u> (London 1980), pp135-179)           |
| Crosse Crosse | 1917 | W.E. Crosse Crosse:<br>Church Bands - St. Petrock Stow Church Band ( <u>Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries</u> , April 1917, pp161-4)   |

- |            |        |  |
|------------|--------|--|
| Crossick   | 1976   | G. Crossick:<br>The Labour Aristocracy and its<br>Values: A Study of Mid-<br>Victorian Kentish London<br>( <u>Victorian Studies</u> , vol. XIX<br>(1976), pp301-328)   |
| Crowest    | 1889   | F.J. Crowest:<br>The Music of the British Army<br>( <u>The National Review</u> , vol. 13<br>(1889), pp325-342)   |
| Cruikshank | [1860] | G. Cruikshank:<br><u>A Pop-gun Fired off by George<br/>Cruikshank, in Defence of the<br/>British Volunteers of 1803,<br/>Against the Uncivil Attack upon<br/>that Body by General<br/>W. Napier...</u> (London [1860]) |
| Cunningham | 1975   | H. Cunningham:<br><u>The Volunteer Force A Social<br/>and Political History 1859-1908</u><br>(London 1975)   |

Cunningham	1980	H. Cunningham: <u>Leisure in the Industrial Revolution</u> (London 1980)
------------	------	---

Curwen	1887	J.S. Curwen:  The Progress of Popular Music  ( <u>Contemporary Review</u> , vol. 52  (1887), pp236-248)
--------	------	---

The Daily News (London, 1846-)

D'Almaine & Co's Brass Band Library (London, 1861-)

Delves	1981	A. Delves:
		Popular Recreation and Social Conflict in Derby, 1800-1850 (In: E. & S. Yeo (eds.): <u>Popular Culture and</u> <u>Class Conflict 1590-1914:</u> <u>Explorations in the</u> <u>History of Labour and Leisure,</u> (Brighton 1981), pp89-127)

Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries (Exeter, 1900-)

De[von] R[ecord] O[ffice, Exeter]

Z7/Box 19/7 1838 Modbury Band.

a 14 July: Letter of Thomas Stockham  
quoting prices of instruments

DeRO Z7/Box 19/7 b 18 July: Provisional Rules (agreed to  
at meeting, July 18th)

DeRO Z7/Box 19/7 c Bandsmen and their instruments

DeRO Z7/Box 19/7 d Nov. Notice of eight bandsmen of  
"having lately left the Modbury Band on  
account of R. Cove's misconduct..."

DeRO Z7/Box 19/7 e 30 Nov. Resolutions of Committee

Ditchfield	1907	P.H. Ditchfield:
		<u>The Parish Clerk</u> (London
		1907)



Domville

1856

W. Domville:

The Sunday Band at Eastbourne;  
A Statement Addressed to the  
Inhabitants by the Promoter of  
the Sunday Band (London 1856)

D[orset] C[ounty] M[useum]

[Box Files Ladies Parlour Music] Box 1  
[(Church)]

2 "William Rose, his Book." Psalms. (Ms.)  
Feb. 17th 1793.

DCM

Box 1/4 "Harry Adams." Psalms. (Ms.) (n.d.)

DCM

[Box Files Ladies Parlour Music] Box 2  
[(Church. Cont'd.)]

2 "John Legg his Book" Jan. 13th. 1808  
Psalms and Carols. Ms.

DCM

Box 2/3 "Henry Groves his Book" Oct. 24th.  
1813. Psalms and Carols. MS.

D[orset] R[ecord] O[ffice]

D1/OA Manuscripts deposited in the County Museum by W.A.Pickard-Cambridge of Broadstone, April 1956.

Z2 MS. book of anthems, hymns and psalms and psalms which belonged to the Churchwardens of Fordington in 1805, and was returned there by J.S.Stroud of London in 1916.

DRO D1/OA/Z3 MS. book of anthems, hymns and psalms which belonged to the grandfather of the Rev. R.G. Bartelot, the former having been Rector of Swanage in 1816.

DRO D1/OA/Z7 MS. book of anthems and psalms which belonged to John Holland of Puddletown in 1823.

DRO PE/PUD Parish records of Puddletown  
MI 1 MS hymn books, with music, used by W.Cocker, 1825 and James Saunders, 1832, 1835, 1842; some without music, undated, contain notes of deaths of William Groves and William Curtis, 1845 and fragment of accounts, 1834.

(DRO PE/PUD MI 1/)

[Book 1] [MS book of James  
Saunders, beginning 'Let every  
heart rejoice & Sing'.]

Druitt

1845

R. Druitt:

A Popular Tract on Church  
Music, with Remarks on its  
Moral and Political Importance,  
and a Practical Scheme for its  
Reformation (London 1845)

[Druitt]

1853

[R. Druitt]:

Conversations on the Choral  
Service: being an Examination  
of Popular Prejudices against  
Church Music (London 1853)

[Eagles]

1837

[J. Eagles]:

Church Music, and other  
Parochials. In a Letter from a  
Curate to his Friend  
(Blackwood's Edinburgh  
Magazine, vol.41 (1837), pp479-  
492)

E[ast] S[ussex] R[ecord] O[ffice]

PAR 288 Parish of Catsfield

12/1 Vestry Book 1841-1918

ESRO

SHR The Shifner Archives

818-829 Diaries of Sir George Shiffner  
[sic], in which are entered brief notes  
of engagements and activities. [12  
vols. 1784-1837]

823 [1797-9]

Ehrlich

1985

C. Ehrlich:

The Music Profession in Britain  
since the Eighteenth Century  
A Social History (Oxford 1985)

Elliot

1931

J.H. Elliot:

The All-Brass Ensemble  
(Music and Letters, vol. XII  
(1931), pp30-4)



E[sex] R[ecord] O[ffice, Chelmsford]

D/Z 81 [Records of Woodford United Military  
band]

1 Account book containing engagement,  
uniform and instrument accounts;  
subscriptions and donations; printed  
statement of accounts, 1892-1896;  
printed report and balance sheet, 1897;  
record of receipt books and collecting  
books, c. 1897

ERO D/Z 81/ 5 Account book containing donations and  
members' weekly subscriptions

ERO D/Z 81/ 11 Misc. receipts for instruments,  
uniforms etc.

[1] [Receipt dated 25 April  
1892 for payment for  
instruments]

ERO D/Z 81/ 13 Band committee minutes, inc. copy of  
rules

ERO D/Z 81/ 14 Notebook containing committee minutes  
(in pencil and very brief); note of first  
band practice, April 1892; members' names  
and addresses; newscuttings

ERO D/Z 81/ 20 Photographs of Woodford Military Band,  
some members identified

[1] [Photograph with caption  
'Woodford Military Band.  
1894'. Front row kneeling]

ERO D/Z 81/20/ [2] [Photograph with caption  
'Woodford Military Band.  
1903']

ERO D/Z 81/ 22 Note on history of Band, 1892-1946, by  
T.M. Felgate

ERO D/Z 81/ 24 [Minute book of sub-committee]

ERO L/U 3 Loyal Chelmsford Volunteers. Minutes,  
correspondence, returns, memoranda, muster  
rolls, and other records, 1798-1808, mostly  
after revival of the corps in 1803.

1 Minute Book; (i) resolutions passed at  
a meeting of the inhabitants of  
Chelmsford for the purposes of raising a  
Volunteer corps; (ii) copy of Lord  
Lieutenant's letter; (iii) report of  
Committee; (iv) meetings of the corps.  
Includes rules and orders, and detailed

description of uniform adopted. Inside front cover: extract from Chelmsford Chronicle describing presentation of colours. Loose in book: printed Act of 44 Geo. III, c.54

ERO L/U 3/4 Minutes of 'Committee of music', 1798; muster roll and pay estimates, 1804; drill returns, 1807.

[1] [MS bundle marked 'Proceedings of the Committee of Music']

ERO L/U 3/5 Lists, accounts, and memoranda, 1803-4, and receipts for band instruments, 1798. 'Account of expenses and other matters... 24th Apr. to 9th May 1804' is a diary of the Camp at Braintree.

[1] [MS memorandum and receipt re. band instruments, dated 1803.]

ERO L/U 3/5/ [2] [MS acknowledgement of receipt of bassoon reeds; list of instruments, with signatures acknowledging receipt of same.]





Farmer [1912] H.G. Farmer:  
The Rise & Development of  
Military Music (London [1912])

Farmer 1960 i) H.G. Farmer:  
 The Turkish Influence in  
 Military Music (In:  
 H.G. Farmer:  
Handel's Kettledrums And Other  
Papers On Military Music (2nd  
 ed., London 1960), pp41-6)

Farmer 1960 ii) H.G. Farmer:  
 Foreign Army Bandmasters: Their  
 Rise And Fall (In: H.G. Farmer:  
Handel's Kettledrums And Other  
Papers On Military Music (2nd  
 ed., London 1960), pp103-9.)

Felix Farley's Bristol Journal (Bristol, 1752-)

- |           |      |   |
|-----------|------|---|
| Fisher    | 1871 | P.H. Fisher:<br><u>Notes and Recollections of</u><br><u>Stroud, Gloucestershire</u> (London<br>and Stroud 1871)                                   |
|           |      |   |
| Fortescue | 1909 | J.W. Fortescue:<br><u>The County Lieutenancies and</u><br><u>the Army 1803-1814</u> (London<br>1909)  |
|           |      |   |
| Galpin    | 1893 | F.W. Galpin:<br>The Village Church Band. An<br>interesting Survival. ( <u>Musical</u><br><u>News</u> , vol. 5 (1893), pp31-5 and<br>pp56-8)       |
|           |      |   |
| Galpin    | 1906 | F.W. Galpin:<br>Notes on the Old Church Bands<br>and Village Choirs of the Past<br>Century ( <u>The Antiquary</u> , vol.<br>XLII (1906), pp101-6) |

- Gammon 1978 V. Gammon:  
Michael Turner A 19<sup>th</sup> Century  
Sussex Fiddler (Traditional  
Music, vol. 4 (1978), pp14-22)
- Gammon 1981 V. Gammon:  
"Babylonian Performances":  
the Rise and Suppression of  
Popular Church Music, 1660-1870  
(In: E. & S. Yeo (eds.):  
Popular Culture and  
Class Conflict 1590-1914:  
Explorations in the  
History of Labour and Leisure,  
(Brighton 1981), pp62-88)
- Gammon 1986 V. Gammon:  
Popular Music in Rural Society:  
Sussex 1815-1914 (Sussex Univ.  
unpub. Ph.D. thesis, 1986)





- GRO            D149/X21 Correspondence, comprising original letters to Nath. Winchcombe, with draft replies.
- 15 From J. Pearce:  
subscriptions for band instruments, with recommended names of London suppliers including Cramer Family and choice of instruments for concerts or church music, n.d. [?Aug. 1798]
- GRO            D149/X21/        35 Request for dismissal of Wm. Hooper, player of the horn in the Volunteers' band, signed by signed by John Pierce [sic] and 7 others [Feb. 1799]
- GRO            D149/X21/        36 From Wm. Hooper: complaining of his dismissal, and explaining the circumstances surrounding his opponents' objections, 2 March 1799.
- GRO            D149/X21/        57 To Mr. Rider, dismissal as a bandsman, 1 Nov. 1799.

- GRO            D1426 Documents given by Sir Stanley S.  
Marling, 11 March 1957
- 1 Stroud Volunteer Rifle Corps: Orderly  
              book giving company orders, with  
              newspaper cuttings and printed annual  
              accounts
- GRO            D4373 Documents deposited by Brunswick Baptist  
Church, Gloucester
- 4/9 Vouchers and subscription lists,  
              1820-c.1838
- [1] [Receipt for 'cello strings  
                                  dated 22 October 1828]
- GRO            D4581 'Stroud Relics': manuscript volume of  
notes and abstracts from newspapers and other  
printed sources, and from original documents,  
relating to the history of Stroud and its  
neighbourhood from 17th century, compiled by  
C[harles] Hill

- GRO            D4764 Documents, paintings and sketches  
deposited by Miss Mary Bruton  
2/1 Copy (made by Miss Bruton) of  
articles relating to the singing of  
psalms and anthems in Oldbury Church,  
1742
- GRO            D4944 Documents deposited by the Minister and  
Trustees of Tewkesbury Baptist Church  
11/3 Manuscript music books of metres  
used by Tewkesbury Baptist Church  
c.1804-1840
- GRO            P15 Parish records of Ampney Crucis  
CW2/1 Churchwardens' accounts 1776-1954
- GRO            P18 Parish records of Arlingham  
CW2/1 Churchwardens' accounts
- GRO            P77 Parish records of Chedworth  
CW2/2 Churchwardens' accounts 1772-1856

- GRO            P103 Parish records of Cranham  
                  CW2/1 Churchwardens' accounts 1790-1926
- GRO            P163 Parish records of Haresfield  
                  VE2/1 Vestry minutes 1735-1829
- GRO            P165 Additional parish records of Hartpury  
                  CW2/3 Churchwardens' accounts 1839-1861  
                  Vouchers  
                  [1] [Voucher dated 10 Oct 1840  
                  for purchase of violoncello]
- GRO            P272 Additional parish records of Rodborough  
                  IN1/1 Registers 1692-1771
- G[loucester] R[egiment] M[useum, Gloucester]  
                  F47 Standing Orders For the Royal South  
                  Gloucester Regiment of Militia Plymouth Dock  
                  1811 [typescript copy of original]



- Golby and Purdue 1984 J.M. Golby and A.W. Purdue:  
The Civilization of the Crowd  
Popular Culture in England  
1750-1900 (London 1984)
- Gott 1986 C. and J. Gott:  
The Book of Witney (Buckingham  
1986)
- Gray 1974 R. Gray:  
The Labour Aristocracy in the  
Victorian Class Structure (In:  
F. Parkin (ed.): The Social  
Analysis of Class Structure  
(London 1974), pp19-38)
- Gray 1981 R. Gray:  
Bourgeois hegemony in Victorian  
Britain (In: T. Bennett, G.  
Martin, C. Mercer and J.  
Woollacott (eds.): Culture,  
Ideology and Social Process A  
Reader, (London 1981),  
pp235-250)

G[reater] L[ondon] R[ecord] O[ffice]

Acc. 534 Letters and papers of George Cruikshank, artist and caricaturist (1792-1878), as Lieutenant-Colonel of the 48th Middlesex Rifle Volunteers, "The Havelocks".

8 1862-1868 Regimental orders; notices of and memoranda for meetings; letters, draft letters, memoranda and notices re drills, inspections and musters; notices etc. re concerts and regimental dinner

[a] [Unmarked folder]

[1] [MS Letter from G.R. Humphery to Lieut. de Carteret, dated 1 July 1863]

GLRO Acc. 534/8/[a]/

[2] [MS Memorandum beginning 'Officers absent from Battalion Drill at Somerset House. 19 Oct 1863']

GLRO Acc. 534/8/[a]/

[3] [Printed regimental orders for Sept. 1864]

GLRO Acc. 534/8/[a]/

[4] [MS draft report to newspaper beginning '"The Havelocks"... assembled on Monday evening']

GLRO Acc. 534/8/[a]/

[5] [Printed programme of concert held at Myddleton Hall, Islington on Mon. 10 Mar. 1862 in aid of band fund of 48th Middlesex R.V.C.]

GLRO Acc. 534/ 9 Bills, accounts and correspondence re finance - mainly 1866-7

[1] [MS letter from A. Dorsett to Cruikshank, dated 13 July 1864]

Griffiths

1896

S.C. Griffiths:

The Military Band: How to Form, Train, and Arrange for Reed and Brass Bands (London 1896)

Grose

1946

F. Grose:

Advice to the Officers of the British Army (repr.London 1946)

- Grout                      1978                      D.J. Grout:  
A History of Western Music  
(repr. London 1973)
- Grove                      1940                      G. Grove:  
Sir August Manns (In: H.C.  
Colles (ed.): Grove's  
Dictionary of Music and  
Musicians, (4th ed., London  
1940), pp308-9)
- Guest                      [1805]                      G. Guest:  
A New Troop, Composed for the  
Wisbech Volunteer Band...  
(London [1805])
- Guest                      [1809]                      G. Guest:  
A Fifth Troop March...  
(London [1809])



G[uildhall] L[ibrary, London]

Ms 5 Loyal London volunteers Minutes of the  
committee of the Royal exchange division,  
1799-1804

- |           |      |   |
|-----------|------|---|
| Haas      | 1950 | <p>K. Haas:</p> <p>Haydn's English Military<br/>Marches (<u>The Score</u>, vol. 2<br/>(1950), pp50-60)</p>  |
| Hailstone | 1987 | <p>A. Hailstone:</p> <p><u>The British Bandsman Centenary<br/>Book - a social history of<br/>brass bands</u> (Baldock 1987)</p>                                     |
| Halevy    | 1949 | <p>E. Halevy:</p> <p><u>England in 1815</u> [vol. I of<br/><u>A History of the English<br/>People in the Nineteenth<br/>Century</u>] (2nd ed., London<br/>1949)</p> |

- |          |      |   |
|----------|------|---|
| Hardy    | 1985 | T. Hardy:<br><u>Under the Greenwood Tree</u><br>(ed. S. Gatrell) (Oxford 1985)  |
| Harfield | 1967 | A. Harfield:<br>The Great Volunteer Review at<br>Salisbury on 29th May, 1867<br>( <u>Journal of the Society for<br/>Army Historical Research</u> , vol.<br>XLV (1967), pp149-168) |
| Harrison | 1965 | B. Harrison:<br>The Sunday Trading Riots of<br>1855 ( <u>Historical Journal</u> , vol.<br>viii (1965), pp219-245)   |
| Harrison | 1967 | B. Harrison:<br>Religion and Recreation in<br>Nineteenth-century England<br>( <u>Past and Present</u> , no.38<br>(1967), pp98-125)  |

- Harrison 1984 J.F.C. Harrison:  
Early Victorian Britain 1832-51  
(repr. London 1984)
- Hartmann [1930s?] J. Hartmann:  
Arbucklenian-Polka (London  
[1930s?])
- Haweis 1898 H.R. Haweis:  
Music and Morals (18th ed.)  
(London 1898)
- Haythornthwaite 1986 P.J. Haythornthwaite:  
The Volunteer Force, 1803-04  
(Journal of the Society for  
Army Historical Research, vol.  
LXIV (1986), pp193-204)
- Hellyer 1980 R. Hellyer:  
Harmoniemusik (In: S. Sadie  
(ed.): The New Grove Dictionary  
of Music and Musicians, (London  
1980) vol. 8, pp167-8)

- |                   |      |   |
|-------------------|------|---|
| Herbert           | 1984 | T. Herbert:<br><u>The Trombone in Britain before 1800</u> (unpub. Open Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1984)                              |
| Herbert           | 1988 | T. Herbert:<br>The Virtuosi of Merthyr<br>( <u>Llafur</u> , vol. 5 (1988),<br>pp60-9)   |
| Herbert           | 1990 | T. Herbert:<br>The Repertory of a Victorian<br>Provincial Brass Band<br>( <u>Popular Music</u> , vol. 9 (1990),<br>pp117-132) |
| Herbert and Myers | 1988 | T. Herbert and A. Myers:<br>Instruments of the Cyfarthfa<br>Band ( <u>Galpin Society Journal</u> ,<br>XLI (1988), pp2-10)     |



H[ertfordshire] R[ecord] O[ffice]

D/EX 3/10 [MS diary of John Carrington,  
Bramfield farmer]

- |                 |      |  |
|-----------------|------|--|
| Hill            | 1987 | <p>B. Hill:</p> <p><u>The History of the New</u><br/><u>Buckenham Silver Band</u><br/>([New Buckenham?] 1987)</p>  |
| Hillsman        | 1988 | <p>W. Hillsman:</p> <p>Orchestras in Anglican<br/>Services, 1870-1901 (<u>Musical</u><br/><u>Times</u>, vol. CXXIX (1988),<br/>pp45-8)</p>   |
| Hind and Baines | 1980 | <p>H.C. Hind and A.C. Baines:</p> <p>Military band (In: S. Sadie<br/>(ed.): <u>The New Grove Dictionary</u><br/><u>of Music and Musicians</u> vol. 12,<br/>(London 1980), pp310-316)</p> |

- |                   |      |  |
|-------------------|------|--|
| Hogarth           | 1838 | G. Hogarth:<br><u>Musical History, Biography, and Criticism</u> (2nd ed., London 1838)   |
| [Hogarth & Wills] | 1850 | [G. Hogarth and W.H. Wills]:<br>Music in Humble Life ( <u>Household Words</u> , vol. I (1850), pp161-4)  |
| [Holmes]          | 1838 | [E. Holmes]:<br>Music and the Opera. Brass instruments.- The Distin family. ( <u>Monthly Chronicle</u> , vol. I (1838), pp181-5)   |
| Hooper            | 1962 | J.G. Hooper:<br><u>A Survey of Music in Bristol with Special Reference to the Eighteenth Century</u> (unpub. typescript, Bristol 1962 - held at Bristol Reference Library) |

- Houghton 1979 W.E. Houghton:  
Victorian Periodical Literature  
and the Articulate Classes  
(Victorian Studies, vol. XXII  
(1979), pp389-412)
- Houlding 1981 J.A. Houlding:  
Fit for Service the Training of  
the British Army, 1715-1795  
(Oxford 1981)
- Howkins 1973 A. Howkins:  
Whitsun in 19<sup>th</sup> Century  
Oxfordshire (Oxford 1973)
- Hudson 1965 K. Hudson:  
The Industrial Archaeology of  
Southern England (Hampshire,  
Wiltshire, Dorset, Somerset,  
and Gloucestershire east of the  
Severn) (Dawlish 1965)

- |                        |      |   |
|------------------------|------|---|
| Hudson                 | 1888 | T. Hudson:<br><u>Temperance Pioneers of the West</u><br>(London 1888)   |
| Humphries and<br>Smith | 1970 | C. Humphries and W. Smith:<br><u>Music Publishing in the British<br/>Isles from the beginning until<br/>the middle of the nineteenth<br/>century</u> (2nd ed., Oxford 1970) |
| Hunt                   | 1973 | E.H. Hunt:<br><u>Regional Wage Variations in<br/>Britain 1850-1914</u> (Oxford 1973)  |
| Igglesden              | 1899 | C. Igglesden:<br><u>History of the East Kent<br/>Volunteers</u> (Ashford and London<br>1899)  |



- |   |      |   |
|---|------|---|
| Jackson   | 1972 | D.W. Jackson:<br>The History of the Wind and<br>Brass Bands in King's Lynn<br>( <u>Norfolk Fair</u> vol. 5 (1972-3),<br>pp28-31)              |
| Jackson   | 1897 | E. Jackson:<br>Origin & Promotion of Brass<br>Band Contests ( <u>Musical Opinion<br/>&amp; Music Trade Review</u> , January<br>1897, pp246-7) |
| <br><u>Jackson's Oxford Journal</u> (London, 1753-) |      |   |
| James   | 1986 | J. James:<br>Highworth Silver Band<br>(In: <u>A History of Highworth,<br/>Part 2</u> (Highworth 1986), pp248-<br>255)                         |

Jones                      [1887?]      [Jones's] Directory of  
Woodford, Buckhurst Hill,  
Loughton, Chigwell, Chingford,  
& Wanstead (Woodford [1887?])

Jullien's Journal for Military Bands (London, 1844-)

Kappey                      1890              J.A. Kappey:  
Wind-Band (In: G. Grove (ed.):  
A Dictionary of Music and  
Musicians (A.D.1450-1889)  
(London 1890), pp463-473)

King                          1963              C. King:  
Marching with Music  
(Eastbourne 1963)

Langdon                      1774              R. Langdon:  
Divine Harmony, being a  
Collection in Score of Psalms  
and Anthems,,, (London 1774)

- |           |        |   |
|-----------|--------|---|
| La Trobe  | 1831   | J.A. La Trobe:<br><u>The Music of the Church</u><br><u>considered in its various</u><br><u>branches, congregational and</u><br><u>choral: an historical and</u><br><u>practical treatise for the</u><br><u>general reader</u> (London 1831) |
| Laurence  | 1981   | D.H. Laurence (ed.):<br><u>Shaw's Music The Complete</u><br><u>Musical Criticism in Three</u><br><u>Volumes</u> (3 vols.) (London 1981)   |
| Lee       | 1986   | Regional Structure and Change<br>(In: J. Langton and R.J. Morris<br>(eds.): <u>Atlas of</u><br><u>Industrialising Britain</u> (London<br>1986), pp30-3)   |
| Liquorish | [1801] | W. Liquorish:<br><u>The Loyal Hampstead Association</u><br><u>March &amp; Quick Step...</u> (London<br>[1801])  |

Littlemore                      1987                      A. Littlemore:  
The Rakeway Brass Band Yearbook  
 (Hollington 1987)

Lloyd's Weekly [London] Newspaper (London, 1842-)

Lohrli                              1973                      A. Lohrli:  
Household Words A Weekly  
Journal 1850-1859 Conducted by  
Charles Dickens (Toronto and  
 Buffalo 1973)

Lomas                              1989                      M.J. Lomas:  
 Militia and Volunteer Wind  
 Bands in Southern England in  
 the late Eighteenth and early  
 Nineteenth Centuries  
(Journal of the Society for  
Army Historical Research,  
 vol. LXVII (1989), pp154-166)



- |                            |         |   |
|----------------------------|---------|---|
| Lowerson and<br>Myerscough | 1977    | J. Lowerson and J. Myerscough:<br><u>Time to Spare in Victorian<br/>England</u> (Hassocks 1987)         |
| MacDermott                 | 1923    | K.H. MacDermott:<br><u>Sussex Church Music in the Past</u><br>(2nd ed., Chichester 1923)                |
| Mackerness                 | 1964    | E.D. Mackerness:<br><u>A Social History of English<br/>Music</u> (London 1964)                          |
| Mainzer                    | 1848    | J. Mainzer:<br><u>Music and Education</u> (London and<br>Edinburgh 1848)                                |
| Matthews                   | [1797?] | W. Matthews:<br><u>Matthews's Complete Bristol<br/>Directory for the year 1798</u><br>(Bristol [1797?]) |

- Matthews [1798?] Matthews's Complete Bristol Directory for the years 1799 & 1800 (Bristol [1798?])
- McBrown [1987] G.A. McBrown: Haslemere Town Band Souvenir Programme (Haslemere [1987])
- Miles [1797] S. Miles: The Honourable Artillery Company's Grand Slow March and Quick Step... (London [1797?])
- Mingay 1981 G.E. Mingay: Introduction: Rural England in the Industrial Age (In: G.E. Mingay (ed.): The Victorian Countryside, vol. I, (London 1981), pp3-16)
- Morgan [1908?] E.T. Morgan: A Brief History of the Bristol Volunteers From Their Earliest Recorded Formation to the Establishment of the Territorial Army in 1908 (Bristol [1908?])

The Musical Times [and Singing Class Circular]

(London, 1844-)

N[orfolk] R[ecord] O[ffice]

MS 427, T131D L8338 Mann, A.H. 1 Norfolk

Musical Events

Ord Hume

[n.d.]

J. Ord Hume:

Exhibition Quick March. "The

B.B. and C.F." (London [n.d.],

probably c. 1900)

Oswald

[1759]

J. Oswald:

Fifty Five Marches for the

Militia... (London [1759])

The Parish Choir (London, 1846-)

P[arliamentary] P[apers]

1862 [3053] XXVII, 89

Report of the Commissioners Appointed to  
Inquire into the Condition of the Volunteer  
Force in Great Britain

PP

1867 (184) XLI, 813

Return to an address of the Honourable House  
of Commons, dated 26 March 1867;- For "Copy of  
Reports on Volunteer Capitation Grant, from a  
Committee of Volunteer Officers, to the  
Secretary of State for War"

PP

1878-9 [c.2235] XV, 181

Reports of the Committee Appointed by the  
Secretary of State for War to Enquire into the  
Financial State and Internal Organization of  
the Volunteer Force in Great Britain

PP

1887 [c.4951] XVI, 271

Volunteer Capitation Committee. 1887. Report

Pearsall

1973

R. Pearsall:

Victorian Popular Music

(Newton Abbot 1973)



- |              |         |  |
|--------------|---------|--|
| Pearse Chope | 1916    | R. Pearse Chope:<br>Church Bands ( <u>Devon and<br/>Cornwall Notes and Queries</u> ,<br>vol. IX (1916), pp124-6) |
| Pearse Chope | 1917    | R. Pearse Chope:<br>Church Bands ( <u>Devon and<br/>Cornwall Notes and Queries</u> ,<br>vol. IX (1917), p200)    |
| Peck         | 1983    | A.S. Peck:<br><u>The Great Western Railway at<br/>Swindon Works</u> (Poole 1983)                                 |
| Percival     | [1799?] | J. Percival:<br><u>The Bristol Volunteer Troop...</u><br>(London [1799?])  |

Pryce                      1982              W.T.R. Pryce:  
                                  Trade Directories: A Data  
                                  Source of Major Importance .(In:  
                                  W.T.R. Pryce and D. Mills  
                                  (eds.): Aspects of Historical  
                                  Geography 2  
                                  (Milton Keynes 1982), pp35-7)

Punch [or the London Charivari] (London, 1841-)

Rainbow                      1967              B. Rainbow:  
                                  The Land Without Music Musical  
                                  Education in England 1800-1860  
                                  and its continental  
                                  antecedents (London 1967)

Rastall                      1980              R. Rastall:  
                                  Wait (In: S. Sadie (ed.):  
                                  The New Grove Dictionary of  
                                  Music and Musicians, vol. 20  
                                  (London 1980), pp154-5)

Regulations for the Volunteer Force (London, 1861-)

- |         |      |   |
|---------|------|---|
| Reid    | 1976 | D.A. Reid:<br><br>The Decline of Saint Monday<br>1766-1876 ( <u>Past and Present</u> ,<br>no. 71 (1976), pp75-101)            |
| Renouf  | 1986 | D.F. Renouf:<br><br><u>Thomas Hardy and the English<br/>Musical Renaissance</u> (Trent<br>Poly. unpub. Ph.D. thesis,<br>1986) |
| Riley   | 1762 | W. Riley:<br><br><u>Parochial Music Corrected...</u><br>(London 1762)   |
| Robbins | 1988 | K. Robbins:<br><br>North and South Then and Now<br>( <u>History Today</u> , vol. 38 (1988),<br>pp23-8)                        |

- |         |        |   |
|---------|--------|---|
| Rolston | 1978   | G.R. Rolston:<br><u>Haslemere Being Haslemere in<br/>History and Haslemere 1850-1950</u><br>(Chichester 1978)   |
| Rose    | 1895   | A. Rose:<br><u>Talks with Bandsmen; A Popular<br/>Handbook for Brass<br/>Instrumentalists</u> (London 1895)   |
| Round   | [1884] | H. Round:<br><u>Grand Fantasia, Joan of Arc</u><br>(Liverpool [1884])   |
| Russell | 1980   | D. Russell:<br><u>The Popular Musical Societies<br/>of the Yorkshire Textile<br/>District, 1850-1914: A Study of<br/>the Relationship Between Music<br/>and Society</u> (York Univ. unpub.<br>D.Phil. thesis, 1980) |



- |                    |        |  |
|--------------------|--------|--|
| Russell            | 1983   | D. Russell:<br>Popular musical culture and<br>popular politics in the<br>Yorkshire textile districts,<br>1880-1914 (In: J.K. Walton and<br>J. Walvin (eds.): <u>Leisure in<br/>Britain 1780-1939</u> (Manchester<br>1983), pp99-116) |
| Russell            | 1987   | D. Russell:<br><u>Popular music in England,<br/>A social history</u> (Manchester<br>1987)  |
| Russell and Elliot | 1936   | J.F. Russell and J.H. Elliot:<br><u>The Brass Band Movement</u> (London<br>1936)   |
| Russell            | [1795] | W. Russell:<br><u>A favorite [sic] March Composed<br/>for the Guildford Volunteers...</u><br>(London [1795])   |

- [Sala] 1855 [G.A. Sala]:  
Sunday Music (Household Words,  
vol. XII (1855), pp261-4)
- The Salisbury and Winchester Journal and General  
Advertiser (Salisbury, 1824-)
- Sandiford 1981 K.A.P. Sandiford:  
The Victorians at Play:  
Problems in Historiographical  
Methodology (Journal of Social  
History, vol. 15 (1981-2),  
pp271-288)
- Schwandt & Lamb 1980 E. Schwandt & A. Lamb:  
March (In: S. Sadie (ed.): The  
New Grove Dictionary of Music  
and Musicians (London 1980)  
vol. 11, pp650-4)
- Scott 1970 J.L. Scott:  
The Evolution of the Brass Band  
and its Repertoire in Northern  
England (unpub. Sheffield Univ.  
Ph.D. thesis, 1970)

Sebag-Montefiore 1908

C. Sebag-Montefiore:

A History of the Volunteer  
Forces from the Earliest Times  
to the year 1860 Being a  
Recital of the Citizen Duty  
 (London 1908)

Simmons

1986

J. Simmons:

The Railway in Town and Country  
1830-1914 (Newton Abbot and  
 London 1986)

[Documents belonging to D.]

Smith [of High Cogges, Witney, Oxfordshire]

[1] [Typescript copy of autobiography of  
 William Smith of Witney, dated 14 Nov. 1872]

Smith/

[2] [MS minute book of 5th Oxfordshire Rifles  
 band, 1861-2]

Smith/

[ph.] [Photograph of Witney Temperance band,  
 late nineteenth century]

S[omerset] R[ecord] O[ffice] .

DD/SAS Somerset Archaeological Society Papers

FA 106 Somerset Militia List of the

'Musick Fifers and Drumers in the

Somerset Millita command by Col. Bampfyld

for May 1777' [sic throughout]

SRO D/P/broo. Broomfield Parochial Documents

10/3/1 Letter to churchwardens re.

bassoon for church band, 21 Dec. 1832

SRO D/P/chin.w. West Chinnock Parish Records

4/1/1 Churchwardens' accounts with rates

to 1910

Spencer

1857

H. Spencer:

The Origin and Function of

Music (Fraser's Magazine, vol.

56 (1857), pp396-408)



Stephen

1933

G.A. Stephen:

The Waits of the City of  
Norwich through Four Centuries  
to 1790 (Norwich 1933)

S[ussex] A[rchaeological] S[ociety Library, Lewes]

[Aylmore MS] [Music manuscript books belonging  
to W. Aylmore of West Wittering]

[1] [Manuscript book of secular music,  
beginning 'Bedfordshire March']

SAS/

[Catsfield MS] [Music manuscript books used in  
Catsfield church]

[1] [Manuscript book mainly of psalm  
tunes, beginning 'Ebenezer New';  
inscribed 'Catsfield' on  
first page]

SAS/

[Catsfield MS]/[2] [Manuscript book mainly of  
anthems, beginning 'Anthem from the  
67 Psalm'; inscribed 'Catsfield 1840'  
in front cover]

SAS/ [Catsfield MS]/[3] [Manuscript book of anthems and other pieces, beginning 'Anthem From 139 Psalm'; label on cover states 'Catsfield Choir 1846']

SAS/ [Catsfield MS]/[4] [Manuscript book of psalms and hymns, bearing label 'Catsfield Choir, 1846' on cover and beginning 'Psalm 133. O.v. verses 1234']

SAS/ [MacDermott MS] [Collections relating to church bands in Sussex. 2 vols.]

SAS/ [Nye MS] [Collection of exercise books, containing various writings of James Nye]  
[1] ['A Small Account of my travels through the Willderness' [sic] - Nye's autobiography]

SAS/ [Welch MS] [Manuscript music books owned by the Welch family of Bosham]  
[1] [Manuscript book of church and secular music, beginning 'Tener [sic] to y<sup>e</sup> 51 Psalm...' ]

- |           |         |   |
|-----------|---------|---|
| Tate      | 1946    | W.E. Tate:<br><u>The Parish Chest A Study of the<br/>Records of Parochial<br/>Administration in England</u><br>(Cambridge 1946) |
| Taylor    | 1979    | A.R. Taylor:<br><u>Brass Bands</u> (London 1979)  |
| Taylor    | 1983    | A. R. Taylor:<br><u>Labour and Love An Oral History<br/>of the Brass Band Movement</u><br>(London 1983)                         |
| Tebay     | [1800?] | J. Tebay:<br><u>The Bath Volunteers March...</u><br>(London [1800?])  |
| Temperley | 1979    | N. Temperley:<br><u>The Music of the English Parish<br/>Church</u> (2 vols.) (Cambridge<br>1979)                                |

- |                                  |      |  |
|----------------------------------|------|--|
| Temperley                        | 1986 | N. Temperley:<br>The Lost Chord<br>( <u>Victorian Studies</u> , vol. XXX<br>(1986), pp7-23)                            |
| Thomas                           | 1964 | K. Thomas:<br>Work and Leisure in Pre-<br>industrial Society<br>( <u>Past and Present</u> , no. 29<br>(1964), pp50-66) |
| Thompson                         | 1988 | E.P. Thompson:<br><u>The Making of the English<br/>Working Class</u> (repr.<br>London 1988)                            |
| <u>The Times</u> (London, 1788-) |      |  |
| Turner                           | 1985 | T. Turner:<br><u>The Diary of Thomas Turner<br/>1754-1765</u> (ed. D. Vaisey)<br>(repr. Oxford 1985)                   |



Van Ess                      1981                      D.H. Van Ess:  
Band Music (In: N. Temperley  
(ed.): Music in Britain The  
Romantic Age 1800-1914  
(London 1981), pp135-143)

Vicinus	1975	M. Vicinus: The Study of Victorian Popular Culture ( <u>Victorian Studies</u> , vol. XVIII (1975), pp473-483)
---------	------	--

Volunteer Service Gazette (London, 1859-)

[Collection of T.A.] Waddell [9 Woodcut Rd., Farnham,  
Surrey]

[1] [Painting of Charles Bridger, Haslemere  
bandsman, c.1840]

Walrond	1897	H. Walrond: <u>Historical Records of the 1st</u> <u>Devon Militia (4th Battalion</u> <u>The Devonshire Regiment)</u> (London 1897)
---------	------	--

Walvin                      1978              J. Walvin:  
Leisure and Society 1830-1950  
 (London 1978)

Weber                      1975              W. Weber:  
Music and the Middle Class The  
social structure of concert  
life in London, Paris and  
Vienna (London 1975)

Wessel & Co's Journal for Brass Band (London, 1837-)

The West Briton (Truro, 1811-)

Western                      1965              J.R. Western:  
The English Militia in the  
Eighteenth Century The Story of  
a Political Issue 1660-1802  
 (London 1965)

The Western Times (Exeter, 1829-)

W[est] S[ussex] R[ecord] O[ffice]

RSR PH 5/11 c.1875. Photograph[s] of the band  
of the 1st Cinque Ports Administrative  
Battalion. Names not given

[a] [Band with officers and NCOs]

WSRO RSR PH 5/11/[b] [Band only]

WSRO RSR PH 14/28 c.1898. Photograph of the Band of the  
2nd Volunteer Battalion, The Royal Sussex  
Regiment, taken at the annual training camp,  
probably at Arundel Park. Names not given

Whiting

1970

J.R.S. Whiting:

The Frampton Volunteers An  
Example of the late 18th  
Century & Early 19th Century  
Volunteer Corps' System  
(Journal of the Society for  
Army Historical Research, vol.  
XLVIII (1970), pp14-28)

Willan	1900	F. Willan: <u>History of the Oxfordshire</u> <u>Regiment of Militia 1778-1900</u> (Oxford 1900)
--------	------	--

Williams	1988	G. Williams: 'How's the Tenors in Dowlais?' Hegemony, Harmony and Popular Culture in England and Wales 1600-1900 ( <u>Llafur</u> , vol. 5 (1988), pp70-80)
----------	------	---

Williams	1985	R. Williams: <u>Culture and Society 1780-1950</u> (repr. London 1985)
----------	------	---

W[iltshire] R[ecord] O[ffice]

9/[1] Savernake Collection Wiltshire Militia  
Papers

[1] Monthly and weekly strength returns;  
lists of officers and other ranks, lists  
of parish ballots and substitutions



(WRO 9/[1]/[1]/)

[1] [Monthly return of  
Wiltshire militia, dated 25  
August 1812]

WRO

9/[1]/[2] Letters and accounts relating to  
Militia clothing

[1] [Envelope marked 'Clothing  
Letters and Accounts 1755-  
1767']

[1] [Bill dated London  
April 1756 of N. Pearce for  
clothing Wiltshire militia]

WRO

9/[1]/[3] Letters relating to the regiment,  
including the Militia riots at Devizes,  
1810

[1] [Envelope marked '1769']

[1] [MS paper beginning  
'Articles of Agreement made  
concluded & agreed upon the  
6 day of Novr. in the year  
of our Lord 1769...']

WRO

9/[1]/[3]/[1]/

[2] [MS paper beginning  
'Be it Remembred [sic]  
that...']

[illegible]

WRO               9/[1]/[3]/[2]/               [2] [MS receipt dated 27  
July 1770]

[3] [Envelope marked '1781']  
[1] [MS letter from Lord  
Porchester to Bruce, dated  
28 March 1781]

WRO                    2027 Marlborough Loyal Volunteer Infantry  
Merriman Papers, early 19th cent.  
[1] [MS committee minute book of  
Marlborough volunteers]

WRO 2027/[3] [Bundle marked 'Extra 10 Days (1804-05)']

[1] [MS paper listing musicians of Marlborough volunteers, beginning 'Marlborough Volunteer Infantry Band Drums and Fifes...']

Winstock                      1970                      L. Winstock:  
    Songs & Music of the Redcoats  
    A History of the War Music of  
    the British Army 1642-1902  
    (London 1970)

Woodforde                      1978                      J. Woodforde:  
    The Diary of a Country Parson  
    1758-1802 (Ed. J. Beresford)  
    (repr. Oxford 1978)

Wreth                              [n.d.]                      F. Wreth:  
    The Nightingale. A Favorite  
    [sic] Military Rondo...  
    (London [n.d., probably from  
    period c.1803-1815])

Wright & Round's Liverpool Brass (& Military) Band  
Journal, catalogue, June 1885